#140

Young Soviet Critics Tried for 'Treason'

When the ruling bureaucrats in the Soviet Union decreed a general amnesty to mark the 50th anniversary of the October revolution, they excluded all those convicted of political offences. Among this category are the pro-socialist critics of the regime such as the writers Yuli Daniel and Andrei Sinyavsky, who were convicted in 1966 of "anti-Soviet propaganda" for daring to publish their satirical works abroad.

Also excluded from the amnesty were four young intellectuals arrested almost a year ago and imprisoned for compiling a book on the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial, and for publishing *Phoenix 66*, an underground literary magazine. Two petitions, one with over 100 names, another with 44, are now circulating in the Soviet Union demanding an open trial for these young critics of the regime. Among the intellectuals said to have signed the petitions is a physics lecturer, P. Litvinov, a grandson of former Stalinist foreign minister Maxim Litvinov.

The young Litvinov recently defied a threat from the Soviet Security police and smuggled out of the USSR the transcript of the closed-door trial in Moscow last September of the three Russian youth sentenced to one to three years for organizing a demonstration to protest the arrests of the *Phoenix* publishers. Included in the manuscripts is the final plea of Vladimir Bukovsky, who challenged the court with a spirited defense of the right of Soviet citizens to organize public demonstrations.

The growing wave of protests at these arbitrary violations by the bureaucracy of the most elementary rights of free speech and expression are symptomatic of a new mood of rebellion among intellectuals in the workers states, many of whom are no longer afraid to take the risk of protest. But the regime shows no signs of liberalizing its opposition to such dissent. One of the leading Soviet writers, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, has been unable to publish his two latest works, and the secret police has raided his home and seized his diaries and notes — including those he kept while in one of Stalin's internment camps. One of the ablest young poets, Andrei Vozhesensky, has been severely censured. And as Toronto *Star* reporter Mark Gayn reports from Moscow, "there are other signs of unease."

"The Komsomol Pravda published an attack on the censors, and then retracted it nine days later. A show of "approved" painters was closed down on opening day. A historian who has written a book, *June 22*, showing that Stalin was to blame for the Red Army's early catastrophies in 1941 found the roof settling around his shoulders — even if most other young historians supported him."

Yuli M. Daniel and Andrei D. Sinyavsky in Moscow court room.

Perhaps the most startling indication of the growing opposition in the Soviet Union was the recent sentencing of four young intellectuals in Leningrad to terms ranging from 8 to 15 years for "treason." They were among 25 arrested last March and, according to Western press reports, charged with armed terrorism. All were connected with Leningrad University's philosophy department.

None of this information, of course, appears in the heavily censored Soviet daily press. Nor has the Canadian Communist party's organ, the *Tribune*, seen fit to protest the savage sentences and restrictions on the young Soviet socialists. It even attempted to justify the savage sentences meted out to Sinyavsky-Daniel. Apparently, the CP's attempts to pass themselves off as liberal democrats do not oblige them to defend the liberty or democratic rights of pro-socialist critics in the workers' states.

A Contribution to the Discussion

Alberta NDP Debate

by Ross Dowson

Something really new, really important, is taking place in the Alberta New Democratic Party, specifically in the pages of its official organ, *The Democrat*.

In the November issue the editors write that the paper's new character signifies a change in "orientation . . . from a homey newsletter featuring very little of a political nature (that's an accurate description of the Ontario and B.C. NDP press—editor), to a party instrument capable of articulating opinion on important issues."

They see as "the primary function of the *Democrat* . . . the raising of discussion of issues which are of central concern to the party's development as a political force in Alberta."

No Holds Barred

They lay down no limits, every question is open for discussion.

"It is no idle claim to state that we must settle our own image as a political party, first, before we can convince the public. This is not a demand for an ironclad party manifesto, but it is a demand for a discussion of first principles — principles which are inherently linked to the party's policy making and program tactics, and eventually to our public image as a political party."

And the discussion is wide open — any one may participate. "All points of view will be given equal space," say the editors.

Of course this discussion is not unfolding without opposition in the party. The provincial leader himself, Neil Reimer, headed off his column in the November issue with a snide comment "that this paper has been very kind to the point of view of 'what went wrong!' in the last election by various people. The world is full of arm-chair quarterbacks who have never been at a football game — and if they have, never played it."

In his December column Reimer takes another dig at those who want to discuss international affairs. "Of course it is important," he says, "but the citizens of Spain, USA, USSR, Cuba, China, or even England, do not vote in a Canadian election." Apparently oblivious of the need to have a correct world outlook in order to develop a correct domestic policy, Reimer, with arrogant condescension, complains that the peoples of those countries "will not take much of a lead from us if we cannot keep our own house united and in order."

Then of course, as we have regretfully come to expect there are the usual red-baiting attempts to frustrate the entire discussion. The November issue contained a lengthy contribution which, for unexplained reasons, appeared anonymously, with only the initials attached, "n.b."

"Endorse a Dowson (leading NDYers endorsed the League for Socialist Action's projected candidate in the Colchester-Hants by-election — editor) or associate yourself with 'solidarity causes' and 'revolutionary movements'(Vietnam? OLAS? Hugo Blanco? Che? —editor) as you have recently done — and you do far more than merely hurt party discipline and party cohesiveness," n.b. cries. "You undermine what the NDP in Canada — and serious, devoted socialists the world over — have worked so hard and so long to build up."

Fortunately the editors have not been diverted either by redbaiting or by the attacks on personalities that are appearing with increased frequency. The discussion, so crucial to the future development of the movement, is continuing to unfold.

Serious Level

There have been a considerable number of contributions of a serious character. In our Nov. 27 issue we quoted at some length an analysis of the NDP federal convention by NDY federal president, Ken Novakowski. He urges an end to the "drive towards moderation and electoral acceptability, and calls upon the party to "stand for Socialism and a Socialist Canada." In our Dec. 11 issue we quoted at length a contribution from Alberta NDP vice-president Norman Dolman who stresses the need for the party to take a clear stand for public ownership of the basic industries. Since then Dolman has announced that he will run for president of the Alberta section at the next convention. Former executive member John Burke had two notable articles in the October and November issues of the paper. NDY provincial executive member Gordon Drever, and Gary Allen, with perhaps the best contribution, have added to the discussion.

Inconsistent

As is inevitable, these individual contributions, all of which flow from a clear understanding that the party must break from its liberal-reformist course and take a socialist direction, have been quite uneven in their value. There are even some serious errors that are being repeated, such as objection to the party running a full slate of candidates instead of concentrating on one or two seats. Grant Notley is unchallengeably correct on this matter.

It is apparent, even from what has already been published, that the left, concentrated largely in the youth, has not really worked out a common program, not to speak of strategy, so that it can best take advantage of this opportunity to present the socialist alternative to the Alberta membership and the NDP rank and file across the country.

Not only can the liberal-reformist leadership of the party make mincemeat of the left before the membership, should irresponsible statements showing contempt for the party and suggesting disaffiliation continue to be expressed, but these tendencies disorient the left itself.

Need for Program

There must be common agreement that even on an Alberta scale and certainly on a Canada-wide scale the NDP is a mass labor party formation, firmly rooted in the unions, the primary class organization of the workers, that it represents a massive break on the part of what are already the decisive sectors of the working class from capitalist politics in the direction of establishing working class rule in this country.

It is here for the next whole period that the struggle for leadership of the class is destined to unfold.

The left must work out its own ideas and it must present them in a clear and consistent manner. It should intervene with a series of well-worked out basic educational articles.

Instead of merely injecting the challenge of public ownership into the discussion it should make the case for it. It should show how the major crimes and disorders of our time flow from the capitalist system, are rooted in private ownership of the means of production and capitalist appropriation of the social product.

The internationalism of the left must develop not only from a sense of the most profound solidarity with the struggles of oppressed everywhere, but from the knowledge that today world politics have a decisive impact on national politics. An anti-capitalist policy on the home front requires an anti-imperialist foreign policy.

Challenge

There must be an end to revolutionary phrasemongering and the development of a serious discussion as to how the working class are going to come to power in this country, how the gap between the existing consciousness of the working class, as yet quite low, can be raised to meet the revolutionary challenge of our time.

This discussion in the left is necessary in order to give it a cohesiveness, to minimize certain centrifugal forces — and at the same time to give it the greatest possibility of having a real impact on all those listening in to the discussion — and so help win the NDP to socialism.

#141

Ignores Quebec Rights

Outcry Over C-186

by Ross Dowson

A call to action is resounding through the halls of Canadian Labour Congress-affiliated unions and streamerheadlining the union press. It is echoing through the pages of the New Democratic Party press, the Communist Party's *Canadian Tribune* and the bulk of the major dailies.

It's not medicare, once again tottering on the brink, or the housing crisis, nor Ottawa's complicity in the Vietnam war, the railway layoffs, and certainly not the ever-increasing use of compulsory arbitration and strikebreaking injunctions against CLC affiliates that is causing them to talk militant. It's Bill C-186.

Allows Certification

What actually is Bill C-186 — given first reading in the House of Commons and now before the Committee on Labor and Employment? When you cut aside all the scare veribage, here is how the leaders of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers Union, which is most immediately affected, explained what it will do if enacted. "It will enable the CNTU (Confederation of National Trade Unions) to obtain certification for Quebec members of railway, CBC, waterfront and other unions which now bargain on a nation-wide basis." *(Canadian Transport*, Dec. 15, 1967.)

It isn't that these workers do not want to be certified as members of the Quebec-based CNTU. In the case of the workers in the Montreal Angus shops, although they voted overwhelmingly CNTU, they must remain in the CBRT & GW because the Canada Labor Relations Board considers them to be an integral part of this established country-wide ('national') bargaining unit.

Inside Track

The CLC has the inside track on the CLRB. Of the four labor representatives which, together with four employers' representatives, make up the board, the CLC has three, the CNTU one. The CLC representatives, with the support of the employers' representatives, have persistently frustrated Quebec workers whom they declare to be in a "national bargaining unit" from switching to the CNTU. In protest the CNTU has withdrawn its single member from the board whose chairman and vice-chairman, they point out, do not speak French.

Bill C-186, when it comes to applications for regional certification, would set up panels in which the CNTU would have equal representation with the CLC. Added to that will be a three member tribunal which would hear appeals from board rulings in applications for regional bargaining units between the CLC and CNTU. This tribunal would consist of a French-speaking CLRB chairman and two cabinet appointees, one of whom would be French Canadian.

National Question

Of course, as CLC executive Vice-president Joe Morris testified before the International Labor Organization, it is not at all a matter of the CLC holding onto dues paying members and its inside track with the government and the employers' representatives on the Canada Labor Relations Board. The CNTU's successful challenge of the boards' concept of national bargaining units, he warns, will result in "division of Canadian workers on the basis of language and culture."

The fact is, important sectors of the Canadian working class are and have been for years divided along the lines of language and culture. The CLC brass tries to cover up the French fact with the same chatter about "unity" used by the crudest federalists and national chauvinists. Its unity cry is transparently fradulent for it has laid down that the only way unity is to be achieved is by the Quebec workers submerging themselves in the bargaining units which are under its jurisdiction and enforced by federal government law.

It is The *Canadian Tribune* that takes up the cudgels to flatly deny that "certification of unions on a local or regional basis" would constitute a form of recognition of Quebec as the home of the French Canadian nation." It does so with the claim that "the bill would apply with equal force to any local or regional area in Canada."

This is the bogey raised by the editors of *Canadian Transport*—that the possibility of fracturing existing national bargaining units would result in endless inter-union conflicts across the country. There is little to sustain this scare. The evidence of the past decades shows that, aside from government regulations which make it very difficult, workers are reluctant to break out of the established bargaining units. The Steelworkers, after wasting millions of dollars and all kinds of time and energy, found that it could only take over Mine Mill through absorbing its apparatus into its own.

The CBRT leadership warns that the implementation of C-186 will "doom industrial peace," with the railway unions and the CNTU negotiating separately trying to outdo one another in establishing higher wages for the workers. This kind of disruption of the peace would only be welcomed by the badly paid railway workers. The CBRT brass cries out that the conflicts that it will engender in Quebec "will play into the hands of the extremists who are trying to divide the nation."

The *Canadian Tribune* bolsters up these efforts of the trade union bureaucracy to preserve their vested interests with the argument that "the real issue" is "the strength of the bargaining unit as an agency to improve the living and working conditions of the workers it covers."

Sometime the *Tribune* should explain how the hands of the railway union negotiators are strengthened against the CPR and CNR bosses when, as everyone knows, the workers in the key Montreal Angus shops reject the leadership and the union of which they are members — or how seriously CBC takes union negotiators' threats of a Canada-wide strike when everyone knows that Quebec CBC employees are imprisoned in the union that claims to represent them.

In Unity There is Strength — but imbedded in that concept is that it must be a relatively free association. In recent months both the CNTU and the QFL have exchanged dramatic gestures for unity. But the position of the CLC and QFL leadership on this bill can only result in the scuttling of these efforts. Perhaps that is why the government, counting on the rank opportunism and cupidity of the CLC leadership, decided to allow Bill C-186 to come before the house.

#142

Citizens' Support for Jailed Soviet Critics

The four young Soviet critics of the bureaucracy who were tried and sentenced last month for demonstrating a year ago in support of arrested writers, drew unprecedented public support. In all, three petitions on their behalf signed by hundreds of prominent intellectuals were addressed to the authorities, demanding a public trial with full press coverage and impartial selection of witnesses. Another petition on the eve of the trial urged the Supreme Soviet to enforce the constitutional guarantee of freedom of press by abolishing press censorship. It was signed by some 180 Moscow intellectuals.

The trial itself attracted many sympathizers of the defendants, who tried each day, although unsuccessfully, to gain admittance to the courtroom. Prominent among them were historian Pavel Yakir, son of the General Yakir who was shot along with Tukhachevsky and others in Stalin's 1937 purge of the Red Army high command, and ex-Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, a former professor of cybernetics at the Frunze Military Academy who was fired from his post in 1961 in a dispute with then Premier Khruschev.

On the last day of the trial, Mrs. Larisa Daniel, wife of the imprisoned writer, Yuli Daniel, and Pavel Litvinov, grandson of former Stalinist foreign minister Maxim Litvinov, issued a public protest, branding the trial as a "wild mockery" of justice and a "rehearsed spectacle." Documenting their charges, they said that defense lawyers were not allowed to ask questions, and witnesses favorable to the defense were cut short or intimidated to prevent refutation of one of the defendants who had turned State's evidence.

YOUNG SOVIET WRITERS. Yuri Galanskov (left) and Alexander Ginsberg were sentenced by Moscow court to seven and five years at hard labor for defending rights of other imprisoned writers.

In a call for support to the Litvinov-Daniel appeal, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International explains the significance of these manifestations of the growing opposition to the regime within the Soviet Union:

"Soviet society must be helped in getting rid of a bureaucratic power, which from the time of Stalin to his successors of today has defiled the cause of socialism. From their cowardice in defending Vietnam against U.S. imperialism to their virulent attitude toward nonconformist young intellectuals, runs a common thread — the effort to maintain the status quo. This holds on the international scale with the United States and on a domestic scale in the Soviet Union; they seek to maintain the status quo in favor of bureaucratic privileges against the interests of the masses both in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world.

"Soviet society today is no longer threatened by the danger of a capitalist restoration. The actual threat is the one to the progress of socialism represented by the leadership of the Soviet Union."

The British CP's daily paper, the *Morning Star*, has carried a lively debate on the recent trial, sparked by an editorial criticizing the way the Soviet authorities handled it. But the Canadian CP and its press have not said a word about it.

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Only NDP Can Fight U.S. Economic Control ...'Nationalism'

by Ross Dowson

When Liberal party leadership aspirant Eric Kierans exclaims that he hopes "that never again will a Canadian government be forced, as happened last weekend, to telephone Washington and ask that American subsidiaries reduce their withdrawal of funds from our country," he does more than score an easy point against his opposition. It was Finance Minister Mitchell Sharp who, on behalf of the Liberal government, had to plead to Washington to make this concession in its declaration to U.S. companies with foreign investments to repatriate their profits so that pressure would be eased off the dollar.

Kierans is giving voice to the feeling of dissatisfaction in wide layers of the population over Canada's cultural, economic and political subjection to those who rule the United States; to the "nationalism" that exists across the country from an increasing awareness of U.S. domination of Canada.

The publication within the next month of the long awaited report on the nature and consequences of foreign (U.S.) ownership of Canadian industry, supervised by Privy Council President Walter Gordon, who achieved a certain notoriety with his suggestion that Canada be bought back from the U.S., is certain to give the Liberals the type of issue that they would prefer to talk about during the leadership contest — "Canadian nationalism." This is a much safer issue, certainly not the divisive issue that is presented by Quebec and the struggle by the Québécois for their national rights.

Another matter is to what use this Canadian "nationalism" will be put by the Liberal and Tory parties of

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Big Business, but there is certainly nothing reactionary in itself in the widening feeling of dissatisfaction about Canadian subservience to the United States — quite the contrary.

It would be a mistake for the political movement of the working class to fail to take cognizance of it. And just as bad, were it to get derailed by it.

Appeal to Nationalists

It was the latter danger that was reflected in the Open Letter to Canadian Nationalists which appeared in the special *Canadian Dimensions* May-June issue. The letter, signed by three editors of *C.D.*, called for a new political formation that would be "politically nonpartisan and would cross racial, regional and class lines." The authors, while calling themselves "unregenerate socialists," urged all Canadians to "temporarily sink their differences."

As to be expected, this appeal, directed to the left — for of course *C.D.* has no influence whatsoever in the ruling class — came to nothing. Contrary to all the hopes that they will do so, neither the capitalist class nor its political parties, nor any serious part of them has shown the slightest sign of thinking of, let alone launching, a new party, an "alliance" or a "movement" for Canadian "independence."

The most that has surfaced so far is Walter Gordon. After blowing off he quickly submerged again into the Liberal cabinet. He went no further than to make a few proposals such as that one quarter of the directors of foreign companies should be Canadian citizens and one quarter of their stocks should be held by Canadian investors. No one could expect much from U.S. corporations with a few Canadian citizens on their board when entire governments of Canadian citizens have acquiesed to arrogant intervention by the United States in Canadian affairs. More recently Gordon became an advocate of national trade unions. He urged autoworkers not to fall for the plot of their U.S. leaderships that they should have wage parity with U.S. autoworkers.

Interests Tied

Canadian ruling circles have accepted the relations of an inferior to the U.S. ruling class because, far from being challenged, their rule is reinforced by U.S. capitalist interests. They see their present and their future inextricably tied to that of the United States.

Not only do "Canadian nationalists" feel uneasy about the legitimate aspirations of the Quebec nation which tend to fracture "national unity" — they are inclined to overlook the fact that the Canadian capitalist class are imperialist, with considerable holdings in the West Indies, Mexico, Brazil and elsewhere, which Mr. Sharp, Mr. Winters and Mr. Gordon can never forget, if only from their direct personal experiences. What is there to defend these interests from the threat of revolution other than U.S. military might?

Ottawa has tolerated the ignominy of having such U.S. laws as the Trading With the Enemy Act enforced on companies operating in Canada, because from their own class viewpoint they agree with the aim of the act (embargo against Cuba and China). Whatever Canadian interests might suffer from sustaining the U.S.-imposed embargo is rendered more than tolerable. For instance, under the NORAD agreements, Washington, in the face of protests from its own business circles, cut Canadian industry into a substantial share of the U.S. arms program.

Source of Protest

The protest against U.S. domination of Canadian economic, social and cultural life comes not from Canada's ruling circles or any substantial part of them. They have swallowed their pride for their overall class interests. It comes primarily from the working class and middle class.

The ruling class are confronted by an increasingly more powerful working class, organized on the economic front over one and a half million strong against undifferentiated capital — Canadian or foreign; and on the political front, in the NDP, challenging them for the political power. Thus Canada is not a unity but is already firmly divided along class lines.

Not only does this fact mitigate against the development of any supra-class formation organized in the interests of the nation, but it places the question of the defense of the interests of the vast majority of the Canadian people, not outside, but squarely inside the New Democratic Party.

As NDP federal Vice-President Charles Taylor says; "Only a party of the Left can pose the real issue and mobilize support for a creative alternative." In our next issue we will analyze Taylor's viewpoint which is widely supported in leading NDP circles.

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Fidel Flays CP Inaction

In his speech at the closing session of the Cultural Congress in Havana, on Jan. 12, Fidel Castro devoted much of his remarks to the role of the left-wing intellectuals ("intellectual workers") around the world and particularly in Europe in carrying forward the banner of socialist revolution despite the default of "organizations of a political kind which might have been expected to react with the most militancy" in the "struggle against imperialism" (i.e., the Communist parties).

He cited two examples to prove his point: the Cuban missile crisis, and the death of Che Guevara. With respect to the first, despite the fact that "for years, almost since we were teenagers, we have been hearing about a great campaign for peace," Fidel said, "what really caught our attention was the fact that, when peace was truly endangered, when the world was on the brink of a nuclear war, we did not see mass mobilizations in Europe." With respect to Che's death, Castro praised the "honest, sensitive men and women" who "had raised (Che's) banner on high," who had "mobilized people, painted signs and organized meetings in Europe," who "were able to assimilate, understand and do justice as compared with those who are unable to understand and who will never understand why he died, who will never be capable of dying as he did, of being the kind of revolutionary he was."

Fidel read from a paper presented by a group of Catholic priests participating in the Congress, which said "that in spite of the differences existing between Christianity and Marxism concerning interpretations of mankind and the world, it is Marxism which provides the most exact scientific analysis of the real nature of imperialism and provides the most effective impetus to revolutionary action by the masses." In an obvious reference to the orthodox Communist parties, Castro asked ironically: "How, seeing sectors of the clergy becoming revolutionary forces, can we resign ourselves to seeing revolutionary forces becoming ecclesiastical forces?"

When his listeners applaunded this remark, Fidel added: "We trust that because of our affirmation of such ideas we shall not be subjected to excommunication (LAUGHTER) nor to a Holy Inquisition either."

Read it all
Style 2 lines centered head

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Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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No Concessions to Pro-War Red-Baiters!

by The Editors

The recent series of front page red-baiting attacks on the Toronto anti-war movement which have appeared in the *Telegram* under the pen of Peter Worthington, show the concern and trepidation with which the rulers of this country and their mouth-pieces view the growing movement right across Canada against the war and their complicity in it.

It is no coincidence that the *Telegram's* vicious smear attacks hark back to the highly successful Oct. 21 mobilization, which drew significant new support from wide layers of the population. Employing innuendo and guilt-by-association tactics, questioning the motives of anti-war leaders in the worst McCarthyite tradition, this counter-attack is clearly aimed at intimidating these broad new elements from adhering to and becoming active in the movement. By trying to discredit the leading activists, the *Telegram* editors and the interests they represent hope to split the movement, turn it upon itself, and distract it from the principled policy of non-exclusion toward all forces and tendencies opposed to the war and desirous of working to end it.

We are confident that the anti-war movement will close ranks in the face of these attacks. The way to resist the smear artists is to demonstrate our continuing determination to carry forward the struggle with the active and public collaboration of all tendencies. The most effective response to the red-baiters will be to organize a massive mobilization against the war this spring, showing who really represent the views of the citizens of this country.

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Alternatives for Canada Feb. 19/68 #143

U.S. Control and the NDP

by Ross Dowson

The leadership of the New Democratic Party has failed to respond to the challenge posed by the increasing domination of U.S. capitalism over Canadian economic, political and cultural affairs, to the reaction of wide layers of the population that is called, somewhat confusingly, "Canadian nationalism."

In much the same way they have expressed only a token opposition to Washington's murderous aggression against the people of Vietnam and the Liberal government's complicity. Their silence on both crucial questions has only served to focus attention on Privy Council President Walter Gordon's cheap demagogic forays from his entrenched position in the Liberal cabinet.

Alternative

An article by NDP federal vice president Charles Taylor, entitled "The Alternative to Paralytic Continentalism," appearing in the January 1967 *NDP News* is a notable exception. "Only a party of the Left," he declares, "can pose the real issue and mobilize support for a creative alternative" to what he calls Canadian Business leadership's policy of greater continental integration of the Canadian economy with that of the U.S. "This is the historical vocation of the New Democratic Party as Canada enters its second century."

Taylor dismisses the Liberal, Tory, and Social Credit parties as forces that would in any way identify with a "national" policy, i.e., one that would defend the interests of the great majority of the Canadian people from submergence under the juggernaught of American capitalism. He sees these parties as political instruments of the "business establishments," already committed to a policy of "greater and greater continental integration." It is "under this leadership," he notes, "that Canada has come to where it is."

Having declared that the labor party formation, the New Democratic Party, has the historical vocation of posing the real issue and mobilizing support for a "creative alternative" Taylor projects what is apparently the NDP leadership's version of the alternative.

Charles Taylor

The weight in the Canadian economy of capital owned and controlled by U.S. investors. ($21.4 billion in 1964), the extent of actual corporate ownership through majority control, and the strategic position of this investment in the economy (60% of manufacturing, 74% of petroleum and natural gas and 59% of mining and smelting), are usually considered to be highly relevant to a discussion of "Canadian independence." And correctly so. Taylor, however, dismisses both the amount of U.S. capital and the extent of its control.

Both are indeed irrelevant in so far as the Canadian capitalist class, who share the exploitation of Canadian natural resources and her work force with U.S. capital, see eye to eye with one another. Where there is conflict, Washington, which has assigned Canada a special role in its overall responsibility to sustain capitalist interests on a world scale, has shown a sensitive disposition to adjust to or to compensate any injured interests.

But Taylor, whose contribution is devoid of any class analysis, dismisses the whole question of ownership and control on totally different grounds.

In passing he makes an apology for Britain's Wilson government "forced to toe the American line over Vietnam." It's "not because of a high degree of American ownership of British industry," he writes (and not because Wilson has assumed the role of caretaker of the drastically weakened British capitalist interests whose fate is interlocked with world and particularly U.S. capital interests—R.D.) "but because of the weakness of the British trading position and the £." As if a weakness of trading position has nothing to do with the declining weight of British ownership (capitalism) in relation to U.S. ownership on an international scale.

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...U.S. Domination

(continued from page 1)

In the Taylor schema ownership of capital or means of production—either foreign or Canadian—is no issue at all. The nub of the problem, according to him, is the tendency "to develop in Canada a 'branch plant economy'" — a structure which "inhibits us from striking out in new fields."

Taylor seeks to give a new dynamic to the Canadian economy, the Canadian *capitalist* economy, by developing a public sector which will initiate "a more specialized competitive economy" and in which "private and foreign capital would be encouraged to collaborate."

In order to sustain this position Taylor prettifies the position of Sweden, and even Japan, and presents a completely distorted picture of the Canadian economy.

He depicts Sweden and Japan as having, through "achieving international pre-eminence in a certain limited number of fields," some unique economic independence, strength and dynamism. Whereas Canada, "developing like a miniature replica of the U.S.," is economically dependent on the U.S. "as a trading partner and as a source of capital."

The NDP Socialist Caucus pamphlet *The Myth of Swedish Socialism* (Box 872, Station F, Toronto—15 cents), dispels not only the socialist myth but any and all concepts that in any appreciable way Sweden has removed itself from the pressure of the world market, over which U.S. capitalism holds sway.

The main character of the Canadian economy is not that it is fractured, with a multiplicity of producing units imposed by U.S. corporations on the same pattern of the much larger U.S. market. The Canadian economic structure is highly monopolized, with the key sectors not duplicating but supplementing the needs of the U.S. market. While this makes the Canadian economy particularly sensitive to the vagaries of the U.S. economy, it also places it in a powerful bargaining position. At any rate, to be tied to the U.S. economy is not the worst fate if one doesn't see any perspective for socialism. If capitalism continues to function it is U.S. capitalism and not British, German, French or any of the trade blocs, that is the most stable, dynamic and powerful.

Thus Taylor's program to counter Canada's cultural, economic and political subjection to U.S. capitalism is completely symmetrical with the NDP leadership's program to counter the domination of Canadian capitalism over the lives of the Canadian people — not public ownership of the basic means of production but structural adjustments to capitalism in an attempt to make it more tolerable.

The powerful control that U.S. capitalism exerts over Canada, and the harmonious adjustment of Canadian capitalism to it, shows that it is capitalism itself—undifferentiated capitalism—that is the problem. That is why only the NDP, not the present leadership but the party as a political instrument of organized labor, can "pose the real issue."

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'A Monumental Political Hoax'

02-19-2

By the Editors

The massive outpouring of articles, editorials and columns will not hide the truth. The recently concluded constituitional conference held in Ottawa was a fraud and a farce — in the words of one Quebec MP, "a monumental political hoax."

Billed by the daily big business press as a gathering to "restructure" the constitution and salvage Canadian "unity" — the Toronto *Star's* Peter Newman claimed it was nothing less than a matter of "national survival" — it was in fact nothing more than an exercise in mock debate and meaningless phrasemongering by all the major participants. Strip away all the babbling rhetoric, and it is glaringly obvious that this conglomeration of capitalist politicians did not move one inch toward meeting the national aspirations of French Canada.

The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse. The single "accomplishment" which can be credited to this production staged by the federal cabinet and the provincial premiers was in the area of language rights: a vaguely-worded agreement "in principle" that French Canadians outside Quebec should have language rights equivalent to those of the English minority in Quebec. No method or timetable for implementing this "agreement" was established.

Quebec premier Johnson called linguistic equality an "aspirin." That being the case, he came away not with an aspirin, but merely with the promise of one.

The conference did nothing at all to even begin meeting the real problems of Quebec as an oppressed nation: the domination of its economy and political structure by Anglo-American capital, the relatively high unemployment and low wage levels that exist in comparison to those in industrialized English Canada, or the fact that Québécois who do not speak English are arrogantly discriminated against in every way within the foreign-owned economy of Quebec itself.

The conference demonstrated again that the Ottawa government and its bigoted political allies from the English provinces are not prepared to give even token recognition to the nationhood of Quebec. The whole question of constitutional change was referred to a committee. But in the process of referral, several of the provincial premiers made it crystal clear that they were completely opposed to constitutional revisions that would imply any "concession" to the concept of two nations.

The federal Liberals, acting through their current boy-wonder, Justice Minister Trudeau, made a blatant attempt to divert attention from the real questions by introducing a much-vaunted "Charter of Human Rights." Not expectedly, this was buried in yet another committee for "further study."

Perhaps most revealing was Premier Daniel Johnson's readiness to go along with this show. After all kinds of demagogic talk about insisting that the concept of two nations and greater powers for the Quebec government be written into a new constitution, Johnson came away with nothing but empty, face-saving gestures.

The Feb. 10 *Financial Post* attempted to explain his reassuring stance to its business-oriented readers:

"Precisely what triggered the change in Johnson may never be known, but it is known that when the capital outflow from Quebec threatened to turn into a flood and a number of influential and well respected Quebeckers consulted with Johnson, his position clearly changed."

What this demonstrates is that the struggle for realization of Quebec's national aspirations can never be carried forward by French Canadian capitalist politicians like Johnson. Johnson and his confrère in the Quebec Liberal party, Jean Lesage, are creatures of the present economic system and they are on no account prepared to break with it. Their attempts to pose as champions of Quebec nationalism are little more than an exercise in skilful political fraud. In the final analysis they are tied in completely with the English Canadian and American owners of the decisive sectors of the Quebec economy. And it is precisely this English Canadian and American ownership which lies at the center of French Canada's position as an exploited minority nation.

It is only through the independent struggle of the Quebec working class and its allies that the national struggle can be fought to a successful conclusion. Because that struggle is tied up with the fight against the present capitalist economic system, the workers who have no stake in that system are the only social force capable of leading it. The ending of Quebec's national oppression can only be fully accomplished when ownership of its economy passes into the hands of the Quebec people.

In this context the struggles for socialism and for the national rights of the Québécois are one. The news that the Quebec New Democratic Party forces are now preparing to launch a working class political alternative to Johnson and Lesage marks a new and more advanced stage in that struggle.

WORKERS Vanguard #143 Feb. 19, 1968

CP Admits Ukraine Russification

by Ross Dowson

The accumulating facts, now completely irrepressible, of the Kosygin-Brehznev bureaucracy's violations of the national rights of the Ukrainian peoples within the USSR has thrust the whole question up and into the open in the Communist Party of Canada.

The Central Executive Committee of the CPC has just released in its bulletin *Viewpoint* a report that is certain to have a considerable impact, not only on the CP and in particular on its block of Ukrainian-Canadian supporters. The latter have long served as the base of the most abject Moscow-liners such as national leader Tim Buck in their fight against dissidents whose continued defection has left that party a shell of its former self. It should have an impact on CP's across the globe.

The report was prepared by a mission that visited the Ukraine over a period of 22 days last spring. It was presented to a Central Committee meeting last fall and finally released this week in the January-dated *Viewpoint*. The fact that Tim Buck himself was among the delegation of six, only increases its significance.

As was to be expected, the report contains the usual assurances that "the problems are recognized and are being dealt with," that "the trend is in the right direction." But what is truly significant is the frank admission by the delegation of the most outrageous denial of the elementary national rights of the 40 million Ukrainian nation to speak, read and write their own language, violations by the Soviet bureaucracy of the basic Lennist concepts of the rights of national minorities written into the constitution by which that ruling caste claims to govern itself.

The mission makes no effort to analyze why on this, the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, great Russian chauvinism continues to exist, that the rights of the Ukrainian nation, supposedly a free associate member of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, are everywhere violated. To be sure, this situation prevailed in the Stalin era—the report calls them remnants of that period. But the CP leadership never went any deeper than to attribute the horrendous crimes against socialist democracy under Stalin to the paranoia of an individual, the personality cult. They do not explain why, 15 years after the death of Stalin, such violations of socialist democracy and national and civil rights should continue to take place.

Indeed the mission goes out of its way to clear Stalin's heirs, the bureaucratic clique that grew up on the Soviet society and seeks to maintain its privileged position at all costs.

The Canadian CP leadership has been compelled to admit some of the facts of the violations of Ukrainian national rights in the USSR. But it is doubtful their assurances that everything is now working towards rectification—they have given similar assurances on behalf of the Soviet bureaucracy at every turn since they were compelled to face the revelations on Stalin — will prove acceptable to their dwindling supporters. All the less so now that such courageous Soviet intellectuals as Pavel Litvinov and Larisa Daniel are openly appealing for support in their opposition to the frame-up and sentencing of writers Yuri Galanskov and Alexander Ginsberg.

The CP's weekly *Tribune* will have to explain its continued silence on these gross violations of Soviet legality. Quebec supporters of the CP will also want to know why the bilingual *Viewpoint* carries the French and English of one article in the January issue, but not the French of the report of the delegation investigating the violation in the USSR of the rights of a national minority.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL
La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.

IN OTTAWA
Workers Vanguard,
Station D, Box 2165

IN TORONTO
League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON
Workers Vanguard,
11129-89th Ave.

IN VANCOUVER
League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

Workers' Vanguard #144 - March 4, 1968

Report of Gordon's Task Force

Who Owns Canada?

by Ross Dowson

Now that the Watkins report on foreign investment in Canada has been handed down, broader layers of the Canadian people than ever before have the ready material to understand the nature of the Canadian economy and to gain further insight into the crucial question of what to do so that we can shape our own destiny.

One of the glaring facts coming out of the report by the eight economists headed by Melville Watkins, assigned by the Liberal government to investigate foreign investment, is that more key industries in Canada are under foreign control (predominantly American) than in any other developed country in the world.

Profits Unknown

General Motors — which hires 25,000 Canadian employees and whose decisions relating to them are crucial to communities across the country — owes allegiance to a U.S. corporate entity that is about a third the size of the entire Canadian economy. Since, like many other corporations, both U.S. and Canadian, it is registered as a private firm, the amount of profit it makes in Canada, the report says, is unknown. Shares are not available in Canada to even those few who can afford them.

The report records in some detail one of the many ways that the U.S. ruling class and its state apparatus violates Canadian sovereignty. This is through the enforcement of the U.S. Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917. Compliance of U.S. subsidiaries in Canada with this act results in the blocking of many opportunities for trade (and jobs) with Cuba and China.

No one even superficially acquainted with the report can have any illusions that Canadian parliament, rather than the corporation board room, controls this country. And here, we are not speaking of board rooms on St. James and Bay Street — but board rooms twice removed — on Wall Street and their political power-house, Washington. Whole sectors of the economy, including many of the most strategic, are controlled by foreign capital. And these interests are so powerful that to a large degree it is they who determine not only Canada's national but its foreign policy.

The various actions taken by Ottawa with the declared aim of defending Canadian sovereignty have failed miserably. The present anti-combines law is almost useless, according to the report — which is not surprising since it has proven to have been totally ineffective in dealing with completely Canadian-owned corporations. The guidelines for "good corporate behaviour" drawn up by Trade Minister Winters are dismissed as irrelevant, in words that cannot hide the fact that in such matters corporations consider that what is good for their profit sheet is good behaviour.

Where there is Canadian minority ownership in a U.S.-controlled firm, neither exports, imports, nor spending on research, were any better. The suggestion is clear — the interests of U.S. and Canadian capital prove to be identical in this respect.

It isn't that the Canadian capitalist class is in a weak strategic position and unable to do anything about the overwhelming U.S. influence if it was in its interests to do so. Its capital is neither widely dispersed nor relegated to the fringes of the economy. As John Porter notes in his study *Vertical Mosaic*, it is a powerful tightly integrated and highly conscious force. It is firmly in control of the state apparatus which it has constructed and developed over the years until it has become a finely polished tool to serve its interests.

Has it betrayed "Canadian sovereignty"? Sold out what the report calls "the national interest"? In so far as they cannot sell out what for them does not exist, other than as a demagogic phrase, the Canadian capitalist class has not sold out the "national interest." As far as the interests of the people who do the necessary work in this country are concerned, capital owes no loyalty to them whatever. The capitalists' loyalty is to capital. Is the Canadian economy short of capital, thus opening the way for continued U.S. penetration of the country? Whatever the case, Canadian capital goes elsewhere — where it is most profitable. It has a 3.8 billion dollar stake in U.S. manufacturing, not to mention its massive investments in Latin America — and Canadian mutual funds have been pouring into the U.S. to buy up U.S. securities.

If there were any doubt left that the defence of the interests of the Canadian people lies in their efforts to build their own party, the NDP, and to take the power in their own hands, examine how Ottawa handled the Watkins report and the modest proposals that came out of it! According to the Toronto *Star's* Ottawa correspondent, Peter Newman, an opposition in the cabinet headed by Finance Minister Sharp and Trade Minister Winters wanted to pigeonhole it entirely. It only appeared with an unprecedented disclaimer on the cover.

Subsidies

As for the solutions, the *Financial Post's* Ottawa correspondent Clive Baxter states that "only one of the three new agencies proposed . . . is likely to be established," and even it, the Canada Development Corporation, "may not make it." Even a full blown CDC would do next to nothing to undercut U.S. capital's decision-making powers over Canada. Its purpose, according to FP, would be "to act as a financial catalyst, bring groups together to underwrite nationally desirable projects" — to fill in, with the taxpayers' money, areas where "free enterprise" capital is not prepared to go.

Thus we can see that the sentiments of those Canadians who, the report notes, are uneasy "as to the continuing viability of Canada as an independent state" — sentiments somewhat confusingly called nationalist — are not reactionary, but have every possibility of being won to a working class viewpoint.

Insofar as Canada can become "a sovereign state" it can only do so by becoming a workers state. The NDP projects that concept on a Canada-wide basis.

Public Ownership

But as long as the leadership of the NDP prove able to keep the party's program confined within the framework of the "cold war," they gravely cripple its development. Ultimately, what alternative is there to public ownership of U.S. capital in this country that continues to violate the interests of the Canadian people? Not only must the party program speak out loud and clear against Washington's counter-revolutionary aggression in Vietnam but it must campaign for the withdrawal of Canada from the U.S.-dominated aggressive military alliances of NATO and NORAD which promise only more assaults on popular freedom movements elsewhere.

Of course public ownership of foreign capital that violates the interests of the working people opens up the question of public ownership of Canadian capital that does likewise. And to vigorously oppose U.S. policy in Vietnam requires active opposition to Ottawa's complicity there and its policies right across the globe.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

#144
March 4, 1968

The Meaning of the Parliamentary 'Crisis'

The government had been defeated in the House on a key piece of legislation, the five percent income tax surcharge. By the tenor of debate, the mood of the House, tradition and most of the precedents, the Liberals should have resigned. But Acting Prime Minister Robert Winters thought the government might survive. "I'm sure there are precedents," said the unflappable PM. "I find there are precedents for about every course that exists in government."

But this time those precedents were hard to find — even in Canada's unwritten British-style constitution, which one expert described last week as "as close to a dictatorship as you can come." So in the end, it was not a parliamentary rule, but the threat of dissolution of the House and the calling of an election, which saved the government's parliamentary skin. Réal Caouette's flip-flop, which gave the Liberal government the required majority on a new confidence motion, resulted above all from his party's fear of an election.

In saving its life, however, the government had to create a new parliamentary "precedent." From now on, it can be defeated in the House on a key financial measure — for example, a move to raise taxes — and yet continue to govern. Tory Opposition leader Robert Stanfield summed up the effect of the Liberal motion when he said: "The executive branch (cabinet) becomes stronger, parliament weaker. The executive branch becomes less responsible, parliament less supreme. It becomes easier for the cabinet to have its will and its way, harder for parliament or the people to stop it." NDP deputy leader David Lewis put it even more succintly. The Pearson precedent, he said, "is not a motion of confidence in the government, but of non-confidence in parliament."

So what else is new?, we might ask. What columnist Peter Newman said of the Liberals — that they "look on parliament as a forum to ratify what they decide among themselves, not as a place where public men are made daily accountable for their actions to the people who elected them" — could be said with equal truth of any capitalist government today, in Canada or elsewhere. It is not parliament but the cabinet, composed of leading representatives of the business and financial world — the Sharps, the Winters, the Gordons — which really governs this country. The government's "humiliation" in being

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...Crisis in Parliament

(continued from page 1)

defeated on its tax bill lay not so much in the temporary setback it made in the Liberals' legislative program (the tax, after all, continued to be collected by order-in-council), but in the appearance it gave of inability to handle the legislature. As that spokesman for big business, the *Financial Post* explained: "Governments must not only perform effectively but be *seen* to do so, especially from abroad."

Thus another step has been taken in the cabinet's struggle to "free" itself from what Newman aptly calls "the paralyzing grip of the legislative assembly." If we're inclined to yawn a little, it's mainly because, as socialists, we know that in the last analysis it is not parliament but the people who are going to settle accounts with the rulers of this country. And in the process of doing so, they'll create institutions of truly democratic rule a thousand times more representative than all your parliaments put together.

Pearson's Answer to 'Two, Three Vietnams'

The daily press had a lot of fun with that story about Canadian troops on a mock 10-day guerrilla-fighting expedition in Puerto Rico.

Take the "scenario" for instance. A not unlikely story. Puerto Rico had just won independence from the "Consolidated States of Amigo." Internal disorders had erupted, and "Fantasia," a neighbouring Latin American republic, had intervened on the side of the revolutionary guerrillas. The Puerto Rican rulers appealed in vain to the "mother country," Amigo, which had pressing military commitments elsewhere (Vietnam?). Enter the Canadian troops — under the "neutral" United Nations flag, of course. And so there were the Ontario-based Mobile Command forces taking on the Latin American revolutionaries played by 43 French-Canadian Vandoos. One of the French Canadian soldiers, playing the part of a liberation fighter to the hilt was heard to yell as he charged forward, "Vive le Québec Libre!"

Of course, it wasn't for real — at least, this time — so the loyal pro-Amigo, pro-Puerto Rico, pro-UN English Canadian troops won the war, and Puerto Rico was safe again for American (pardon, Amigo) investments.

But the whole business was a little too real to be funny. The scene of operations in this curious "war game," the island of Vieques, is a training camp for U.S. Marines bound for Vietnam. The Canadian troops were part of the permanent United Nations standby "counter-insurgency" force which the government keeps ready for intervention anywhere in the world. Canadian troops have already seen action of this character — in the Congo, the mid-east, and Cyprus, not to mention the Canadian intervention in the UN forces in Korea 15 years ago.

And this was no isolated exercise. A second team of Mobile Command officers goes to Australia this month for similar training. Is it only coincidence that both groups are in countries whose soldiers are learning about jungle warfare in south Vietnam? According to the *Globe and Mail* of Feb. 26, 70 Canadian troops did mountain warfare training in Alaska last year, and another 30 went to Libya for desert training with the British.

So typical of Canada. Selling small arms, parts and explosives to the U.S. to free American industry to concentrate production on the big weapons for Vietnam. Meanwhile, training to suppress revolutionary guerrillas in Latin America and elsewhere while the U.S. military machine is tied down in Vietnam. It may look like kid stuff, but it's dead serious. When Pearson talks of putting the Canadian armed forces at the disposal of the United Nations as a permanent "peace-keeping" force, we now know — if we didn't before — whose "peace" he's trying to "keep".

Pax Americana.

Ready, aye ready.

Let's Tell the Truth About Women's Rights

"What do you have to say about the status of women?" asks the colorful brochure announcing the aims and structures of the government's Royal Commission on the Status of Women.

"Plenty," every woman will reply. After years of fighting for the most elementary human rights, this fifty percent of our population still lives like an exploited minority. Women are the last hired, but the first fired; they receive the lowest wages even for the hardest jobs; deprived by law from adequate information and access to birth control, they can't even have control over their own bodies; in these and a thousand and one subtle and not so subtle ways, economically, socially, even politically, they are an oppressed section of the Canadian society. And it's discrimination based not on ability, or intelligence, or any other objective standard — but *sex*.

Who's at fault? Men? Women? Or society, the capitalist structure we live under? And what are the answers?

Some women have something to say, not just because they're women, but as socialists. The League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière has set up a commission on women which will be submitting a brief on behalf of the LSA/LSO to the Royal Commission. In future issues of the *Vanguard*, we will be carrying excerpts and articles based on that brief, presenting the socialist position on the situation of women in this society.

Workers' Vanguard # 144 - March 4, 1968

from the critics corner

EDUCATION IN SOVIET UKRAINE by John Kolasky. Peter Martin Associates, Toronto, 238 pages, linen bound, $3.50.

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Fourth International, wrote in an article appearing in April 1939 entitled "The Problem of the Ukraine:"

"In order to guarantee 'administrative needs', i.e., the interests of the bureaucracy, the most legitimate claims of the oppressed nationalities were declared a manifestation of petty bourgeois nationalism. All these symptoms could be observed as early as 1922-23. . . Since that time they have developed monstrously and have led to outright strangulation of any kind of independent national development of the people of the USSR. . . Nowhere did restrictions, purges, repressions and in general all forms of bureaucratic hooliganism assume such murderous sweep as they did in the Ukraine in the struggle against the powerful, deeply-rooted longings of the Ukrainian masses for greater freedom and independence."

Aside from the intrinsic importance of this whole question, what impelled Trotsky to take it up when he did was a situation that was developing in Canada, and in a parallel way in Ukrainian emigré communist circles across the world. A trend that had been developing since 1933 — an exodus of Ukrainian workers and farmers from communism, falling either into passivity or nationalism — had taken a turn. Trotsky's analysis was an effort to explain the nature of Stalinism and save these forces for socialism.

The book *Education in the Soviet Ukraine* appears thirty years later at another critical turn — a rebirth of the struggle against the bureaucracy by socialist opposition currents both within the Ukraine and in Russia, and the impact that this is having on Ukrainian-Canadians around the Communist party who once again are having to evaluate "The Problem of the Ukraine."

It was in response to the growing reports of the suppression of the rights of Ukrainians and the dissension those reports were causing in Ukrainian-Canadian circles that a delegation, headed by Tim Buck, went to the Ukraine last spring. Their report, released last month, loaded with assurances that all would be well, nonetheless admitted that there have been gross violations of the national rights of the 40-million Ukrainian nation.

John Kolasky's book is an integral part of that ferment in Ukrainian-Canadian left circles. It is the result of a two-year stay in the Ukraine from 1963-1965. The Canadian schoolteacher went to study at the Shevchenko University in Kiev. His personal experiences led him to make a detailed study of the educational system in Ukraine. The evidence that he presents of the imposition of the Russian language and the suppression of the Ukrainian language and culture is overwhelming and unchallengeable.

Kolasky clearly shows that the policy of Russification, that commenced to really develop under Stalin, is a violation of every principle on the national question propounded by Lenin. In fact it was around this very question that Lenin intended to give his first battle to the bureaucracy. He also shows that, contrary to the anticipation of many people, Russification of the Ukraine took on an even wider and harsher character under Khrushchev.

Unfortunately, while he is strong on the results of Great Russian chauvinism, Kolasky fails to grasp the roots of this criminal policy. He calls the policy of the heads of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic to the Ukraine, "imperialism," the scientific term for the most ruthless exploitative, and last stage of monopoly capitalism. However, the information that he submits on the suppression of the rights of other nationalities besides the Ukrainian, including those within the USSR itself, affirms Trotsky's contention that it is a matter here, as on other questions, of the bureaucracy's frightened, arrogant, administrative and regulative approach to the problems of planning and centralization.

"It is a question not of the oppression of one nationality over another in the proper sense of the word," wrote Trotsky in **Revolution Betrayed,** "but of oppression by the centralized police apparatus over the cultural development of all nations, starting with the Great Russian."

Kolasky compounds this error by presenting the national problem in Belgium, that has been reaching new heights of conflict, as being "solved." Canadian readers will be surprised to learn that there is no language problem for French-Canadians.

None of this invalidates the value of Kolasky's detailed study of the suppression of the national rights of the Ukrainian people and his intense moral indignation. It only shows the complexity of the problem which we can hope Kolasky will come to grips with in subsequent writings.

by R.D.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#145, March 18, 1968

Dim Outlook for Prairies

by Ross Dowson

The president of the Canada Safeways supermarket chain protests he is "amazed." Liberal leader aspirant and Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, John Turner, after overcoming his initial confusion has assured NDP leader T. C. Douglas that his department will act. The Socred, Liberal and Tory governments of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba are all maintaining an embarassed silence — about the report that the Prairie provinces' Batten royal commission on living costs has just handed down.

This is not surprising, for the report predicts a gloomy future for the Prairie provinces, confirms that none of the big three boss parties have a solution to the difficulties of the economy, and reveals, in part, the cause of the difficulties — the ruthless practices of monopoly capitalism.

There can be no misreading of that part of the report that deals with Prairie grocery retailing — the commission was actually struck off to head off protests about the cost of living on the Prairies.

Consumers are being robbed blind by the two major grocery chains, Canada Safeway Limited and the George Weston Limited group of companies. They are being taken by an incredible profit rakeoff that operates through a whole series of practices deriving from the monopolistic position of these merchandising lords.

In the words of the report; retail grocers render only about $190 to $250 worth of service per family of four each year. Excess profits and costly excess capacity build-up by these corporations reduced consumer well-being by $61.28 per family of four in 1966.

The interlocking network of food processors, wholesalers and retailers who are fleecing the consumers in the rest of Canada have been really working over the Prairie consumer. Operating profits before taxes as a percentage of net worth were 77.8% higher for incorporated grocery firms on the Prairies than for all Canada.

Power

The report makes no bones about it — the lushness of the profit rakeoff is due to their monopoly power — and it sketches out the broad outlines of that power. The top four firms control over two-thirds of the market in Regina, Saskatoon and Calgary, and indirectly control through affiliated groups over two-thirds of the market in those three cities plus Edmonton and Winnipeg. They build twice as many stores and twice as much floor space as can be justified on grounds of efficiency. And they build ahead of demand to keep out competition. They advertise on a vast scale with self cancelling campaigns, the purpose of which is to erect a barrier to new competition. The commission estimates that the cost of this advertising in each city, which is shoved onto the consumer, adds $14.50 per family for its annual grocery purchases. Conveniences such as free parking and free air conditioning add three cents on every food dollar or $38.72 a year for a family of four.

Having revealed some of the harsh truths about how the food trusts loot the consumers' shopping

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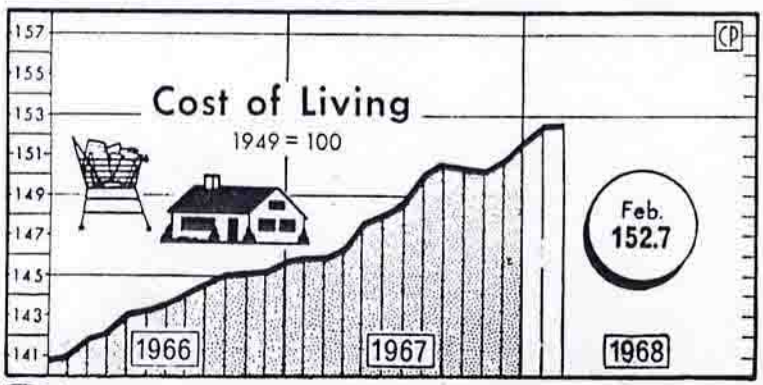

UP, UP AND AWAY. Once a fluctuating line, now graph of the cost of living index from 1958 on simply goes up. For past two years, the index — which gives a relative idea of what it costs Canadians to live — has increased without a significant dip.

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Prairie Outlook

(Continued from page 1)

bag, the commission leaves the consumer entirely on his own. The consumer is to face this voracious beast with a consumer's handbook, if the government gets around to producing it, containing information on goods and services.

We are advised we can also exercise our right to complain, and even not buy, if we are not satisfied.

If you think the prospect confronting the consumer is not too rosy, the whole general picture, the economic outlook for the Prairie provinces, is no better.

Thatcher, though he led the Liberals to oust the Saskatchewan CCF-NDP government, has not delivered the promised land. The Social Credit boom under Manning is wearing thin. Apparently Tory leader Duff Roblin did right — for himself — when he pulled out into the federal arena.

One of the problems confronting the Prairie provinces is to find 44,000 jobs between now and 1971 for the workers who are being squeezed out of farming. Saskatchewan needs 22,000. Alberta's rate of growth is slowing down. Even if there were new oil discoveries, notes the report, the necessary superstructure is already there and only a small amount of direct employment and little indirect employment would be generated..

Don't be deceived by the population boom in Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon and Regina! It is due to the consolidation of services at the expense of small centers. Winnipeg already holds that position in Manitoba and its static state is due to the whole slowdown of the Prairie economy.

The Saskatchewan potash boom is not going to do anything for employment, nor is the Gardiner Dam project and its irrigated acreage going to provide processing industries in south Saskatchewan. "Manitoba has failed to develop an alternative export industry as its former exports from agriculture, trade and services, have declined."

The policy of subsidies that the Prairie governments have been handing out to various business interests from the public treasury to reverse net emigration, says the report "is an assured failure."

In fact the Batten report, where it deals with the economic outlook of the Prairies, parallels in many ways Privy Council President Walter Gordon's report on the Maritimes. Gordon wrote off the Maritimes and, in passing, the fruits of the labor of generations of workers, with the advice that the population should pull out. There the Liberal and Tory guardians of the Big Business interests, with a policy of piecemeal subsidization, instead of placing key sectors of the economy under public ownership and developing a plan, have been letting the economy slowly grind down.

The Batten report presents as a solution, the improvement of skills of the people, even if the failure to advance any other policy will require them to seek other parts of the country to utilize them. "After all, enhancement of the well-being of people, not places, must always be the primary objective of public affairs," it states.

PUBLICATION FUND. This leaflet appealing for contributions to the fund drive is being circulated cross-country by supporters of the WORKERS VANGUARD and LA LUTTE OUVRIERE.

The annual fund drive to sustain the *Vanguard* for another year of publication is now on. This year, we're seeking $12,500, the highest sum ever, for we're combining our appeal with that of our sister paper in Quebec, the bi-monthly *La Lutte Ouvrière*.

Your contribution will help continue the work of these papers as outspoken opponents of the war in Vietnam, as forums for union militants, as reporters of labor's struggle internationally, and as spokesmen for a socialist Canada and Quebec. Our only source of funds is you, the reader.

Besides enabling these two papers to publish for the coming year, we also intend to publish a number of pamphlets like those pictured in the leaflet above.

The drive closes May 1. Please send all contributions to *Workers Vanguard/La Lutte Ouvrière Publication Fund*, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5.

#145 - March 18, 1968

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Pax Americana: The Lesson of Vietnam

American opinion on the war in Vietnam is divided as never before. For the first time since the massive U.S. intervention began three and a half years ago, some lower-echelon Pentagon and State Department policy-makers are openly questioning the prospects for an ultimate victory of the United States forces. Influential voices like the *Wall Street Journal* predict military defeat. And the latest Gallup poll shows that an unprecedented number of Americans — about half the population — now believes the United States should never have got involved in Vietnam.

This polarization of opinion at home reflects new awareness of the critical alternatives looming in the military situation in Vietnam. A stalemate is virtually ruled out: at the present casualty rate, the U.S. public's tolerance of the war will be exhausted long before the Vietnamese who, after all, are fighting on their own land for their very survival. Either the Johnson administration must bow to democratic opinion at home and abroad and prepare for a withdrawal from Vietnam, with all that implies, or it must "push on" in an all-out effort to win the war — which means at the very least the sacrifice of many more thousands of U.S. boys, the virtual destruction of the Vietnamese as a nation; and quite possibly the nuclear annihilation of mankind. Indications are that LBJ intends to push on.

What is the meaning of Vietnam?

That LBJ's "impossible" predicament in south-east Asia is not just yet another "error" that U.S. foreign policy-makers have heedlessly blundered into is once again revealed by the furor over the secret document compiled two years ago by Douglas Aircraft Corporation under army sponsorship. The study, originally entitled "Pax Americana" but now called "Strategic Alignments and Military Objectives," sets forth plans on how the United States can "maintain world hegemony in the future." When Senator Fulbright recently asked the Pentagon to release it on the grounds that "the important conclusions of the report" were in agreement with "so many recent statements made by government officials," the military brass refused to comply. Its conclusions, they conceded, might indeed be construed as U.S. policy and thus "could produce serious repercussions abroad." Even the Pentagon admits that its policies bear a close — and, we might add, not entirely coincidental — resemblance to a plan for world domination!

There can be no doubt that the Vietnam war, far from being a temporary aberration on the part of an otherwise enlightened and well-intentioned U.S. government, is only one aspect — albeit the most important aspect at present — of a conscious world-wide *imperialist* strategy by the far-flung U.S. business interests and their political representatives. This strategy carries with it its own logic and morality. McNamara has now admitted that the 1964 Tonkin incident, which served as Johnson's pretext to ram through Congress a bill granting him *carte blanche* to escalate the war, was a fabrication of the whole cloth. Is there any reason, then, to doubt official disavowals of plans to use the ultimate weapons of mass destruction at Khesanh or elsewhere, in a last frantic effort to stave off the inevitable defeat? It is known that on three occasions — Korea in 1950, Dien Bien Phu in 1954, and during the Cuban crisis in 1962, U.S. strategists were preprepared to employ nuclear weapons. The United States is the only country ever to drop the bomb, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

The lesson of Vietnam has important implications for the New Democratic Party. The NDP leadership's failure to this point to take a clear-cut position of opposition to the war, in favor of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, and to provide a much-needed political leadership to the anti-war movement, flows directly from its fundamental commitment to the aims and principles which motivate the imperialist policy of America today—"anti-Communism." But Vietnam explodes the illusion that the United States and its allies such as Canada play a relatively progressive role vis-à-vis the forces of world socialism. It shows afresh that economic and social interests, and not democratic processes, dictate imperialist policy — and that the interests served by the U.S. not only coincide with the interests of the most repressive and unpopular dictatorships such as the Thieu-Ky puppet regime in Saigon, but threaten the continued existence of human civilization as we know it.

That American imperialism is facing an historic defeat in Vietnam demonstrates how vulnerable it is. Despite all their schemes and projects like Pax Americana, the resistance Lyndon Johnson and his ilk have met in Vietnam, and the further revulsion their course will provoke abroad and at home, will eventually lead to their downfall. Our task is to see that they do not drag the world down with them. And for that, much more than "friendly criticism" is needed.

Rose Karsner Cannon 1890 - 1968

The American socialist movement lost one of its pioneers last week with the death of Rose Karsner. Rose was active for well over 50 years as a revolutionary socialist and was a founder of the American Trotskyist movement. She was the wife and longtime political associate of James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

On the occasion of a banquet held in 1962 in Los Angeles, where she resided in her later years, she told the audience which included some representatives of the new generation coming to socialist consciousness: "Through activity in the movement we achieved fulfillment of life and the satisfaction and confidence we were working not merely for ourselves, but for the entire human race."

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Set by Union Labor.

(2 pages)

Expose Liberal Gov't Complicity in the War!

Elsewhere in this issue we note the significant new intervention in the growing debate on Vietnam by the NDP, in its demand that the Liberal government put an end to Canada's $370 million arms sales to the United States under the defense sharing agreements. Now Prime Minister Pearson himself has entered the debate, with a speech in Hamilton March 24 attempting to defend his government's complicity in the war.

In obvious apprehension over the projected April 6 Vietnam protest at the Liberal leadership convention, the Nobel Peace prize holder lashed out at "war-whooping and dancing around banners bearing hostile slogans that condemn the United States for all the cruelties and wrongs in the world today."

Of the two major themes in the P.M.'s speech, the first — that there is no "instant remedy" or "synthetic formula" to end the war — is explained by the second — that to concentrate all blame on our neighbor for Vietnam and condemn her as the major, or, as some say, the sole aggressor is foolish and dangerous." For it is precisely because Pearson and his cabinet colleagues do not and will not recognize and condemn American aggression in Vietnam that they reject outright all proposals for American withdrawal and pleas to dissociate Canada from the war.

As T. C. Douglas and Andrew Brewin point out, the government has stopped sales of strategic materials to Portugal, Israel and India and Pakistan during hostilities involving those powers. But it flatly refuses to consider an arms embargo to the United States. Although it is official policy to oppose the bombing of north Vietnam, Pearson rejects a modest Tory proposal to back that policy with a parliamentary vote.

The government's complicity with U.S. foreign policy leads them from one cynical move to another. In recent weeks, we have seen Housing Minister E. J. Benson defend the arms sales because they provide employment in Canada, while a few days later, Manpower Minister Jean Marchand tells a Montreal audience that growing unemployment is not his fault — it's primarily due to "the Vietnam war."

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... Liberal Complicity

(Continued from page 1)

Finance Minister Mitchell Sharp tells us that Vietnam-induced inflation means we must pay $150 million more in taxes this year; then permits the Defense Department to purchase four destroyers capable of firing surface to air missiles, for a cool $200 million.

Pearson's ministers proceed to commit Canada to continued membership in NORAD and NATO without providing for any parliamentary debate on these aggressive treaties before signing. Yet External Affairs Minister Paul Martin has the gall to tell parliament March 7 that Canadian-U.S. participation in "continental defense" makes it "easier for Canada to speak frankly" on U.S. policies.

As the Vietnam debate deepens, we may expect further exposures of government complicity and duplicity in the war and imperialist policy. The response of the anti-war movement and the NDP must be loud and clear. The demonstrations in Ottawa April 6 and across Canada April 27 must more than ever before focus public attention upon the government's role in this dirty war.

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Editorials – page 2

Revolt in East Europe

The stirring events in Czechoslovakia and Poland once again give the lie to the old Stalinist dirge that any and all opposition to the bureaucratic ruling castes in the workers states automatically spells opposition to socialism and support for capitalist restoration. It is the demonstrating students and worker youth in both countries who make the democratization of *socialism* their main demand; while a leading figure in the Czech bureaucracy — the general charged with party education in the armed forces — flees with important military secrets to the imperialist camp, thereby pointing up the danger the bureaucracy poses to the achievements of the Czech workers state.

Why no hand under grip the hand bone of work

The bureaucracy is well aware that the real threat to its power comes from the left, not the right. In East Germany, the apprehensive party bosses have banned all *anti-American* demonstrations in public, for fear that such anti-imperialist action could flow into anti-bureaucratic channels.

The political fragility of the East European regimes, where the bureaucracy has no social base independent of the working class to back its arbitrary rule, means that the renewed demands for freedom of speech and assembly have important implications going far beyond the realm of simple democracy. These demands challenge the bureaucracy to do what it cannot do — justify its existence as a privileged layer in a regime which officially at least identifies with egalitarian views.

So far, the Czech regime appears to be weathering the crisis by purging those of its members identified with the worst excesses of Stalinism. Whether the developments there will in the immediate period see the rise of popular organs of representation like the Polish councils of 1956, remains to be seen. But as the Polish events of today show, reforms from above in response to pressure from below may not be sufficient to stem the tide of opposition. Whatever their outcome, the current developments in both Czechoslovakia and Poland are a significant step forward in the revival of political life among the masses of Eastern Europe. They mark important steps toward the coming political revolution in the workers states — a revolution which will triumph with the overthrow of the parasitic bureaucracy, and open the way to a rounded development of socialist society.

There is still no But our look to Hungary BUILDING

Mastering Stalinism

The report of Tim Buck's delegation to the Ukraine, which is still reverberating through Canadian Communist party circles, caused dismay and consternation in the world Stalinist movement, and not least, we may be sure, among the Soviet bureaucrats. The delegation acknowledged and documented some of the most outrageous violations of the elementary democratic and national rights of the 40 million Ukrainian people by Stalin and his heirs.

The lid was lifted, however, only to be promptly slammed down. As if alarmed at their own brashness, the CP leaders have been issuing statements and editorials in fast succession denying the delegation's implicit conclusions.

These heavy-handed attempts to assuage their Soviet mentors reach their lowest point so far in the scurrilous attack on John Kolasky's *Education in Soviet Ukraine* in the March 18 *Tribune*.

Kolasky, who shows that Russification has taken on an even wider and harsher character since Stalin's death, just cuts too close to the bone for the anonymous reviewer, one "P.C." With dripping vitriol worthy of the worst Stalinist hack, P.C. dishonestly slanders Kolasky as wanting "to turn the Ukraine into a huge ghetto (!) from which none shall escape," and calling for "the great 'war of liberation' which was envisaged by Churchill and Truman. . ." P.C.'s ultimate charge, however, shows best how well Kosygin-Brezhnev's Canadian akolytes have mastered Stalin's "teachings" on the national problem: ("Kolasky" elevates to a principle the denial of the need for a common language for all the people of the Soviet Union."

Kolasky, of course, makes no such denial; he simply defends the right of the Ukrainians to full expression in their own language. But need we remind P.C. and her friends that a "common language" (presumably Russian) which they counterpose to development of Ukrainian, is the bureaucratic slogan of all oppressing majorities against the demands of national minorities?

In Quebec, for example, it reads "Speak English."

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(2 pages)

Who Are They Kidding About Trudeau?

by The Editors

What a snow job the charlatans of the capitalist press are doing on the prime minister designate, Trudeau. A "just society?" "Left-winger?" Cruel jokes indeed. Especially when you look at the facts.

Was it an accident that Trudeau was endorsed for Liberal leader and prime minister by the leading Tory papers in the country, including that austere guardian of the Bay Street outlook, the *Globe and Mail*?

Is it possible to find a single really progressive statement among any of the hundreds, even thousands, of speeches and articles turned out by or on behalf of this scion of a wealthy Montreal family?

By his own admission, we know Trudeau supports American aims in Vietnam; that he opposes an embargo on arms sales to the United States; that he favors continued membership in NATO and "a strengthening of continental defense" (that is, closer military alliance with American imperialism, if that's possible). We know his violent opposition to even "special status" for French Canada; his friendly attitude to increased foreign investment; his opposition to medicare and his outspokenly reactionary views on social welfare ("Let's end all this free stuff").

NDP spokesman Laurier Lapierre notes that Trudeau's policy statements do not say anything about unemployment, inadequate housing, urban blight, pollution, and a host of other important problems. But does it really matter? From his silence, we can safely presume that this suave "reformer" stands squarely where all the other candidates and his cabinet colleagues stand: on present Liberal party policy. And the working people of Canada should know what that means!

Who and what does Trudeau really represent? Thirty-six percent of the Liberal convention delegates were not even elected by party members. Almost 25 percent were lawyers, like Trudeau. And even the delegates — all long-time Liberal activists and apologists — didn't really

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Snow Job on Trudeau

(Continued from page 1)

decide the new leader. His own ambitions frustrated by Trudeau's candidacy, Consumer Affairs Minister John Turner let the cat out of the bag when he charged: "Too many power brokers are trying to manufacture victories in the back rooms before the delegates even have a chance to hear policies discussed."

That sterling member of the Establishment, Finance Minister Mitchell Sharp, gave the whole game away a couple of days before the convention when he clinched the Trudeau bid by withdrawing from the race in favor of the Justice Minister. There is plenty of evidence that some of the other candidates entered the race with one aim in mind — to run interference for Trudeau, corralling blocs of votes in order to throw them to him after their own defeat on the first ballot. Whatever, the case, there can be no doubt that Trudeau is an appropriate and perfectly acceptable representative of the Establishment that rules both the Liberal party and this country.

The incredible thing about the "Trudeau phenomenon" is that for the first time ever, the Liberal party machine seemed to succeed — although only temporarily, as we'll see very soon — in making its candidate the first choice of the vast majority of the non-party "little people" who tend to support the Liberals at the polls.

But are people really fooled by this snow job on Trudeau and the Liberals? It's highly doubtful. A Toronto *Star* man-in-the-street poll on the last day of the convention revealed what we'd suspected all along. This staunchly Liberal mouthpiece found to its dismay that 40 percent of the people showed a "total lack of interest" in the Liberal party, their indifference rising to 60 percent among "factory workers, con-

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struction men and laborers." Ignorance? Hardly. As one steelworker put it, when asked who the next prime minister should be: "Certainly not a Liberal or a Conservative."

He couldn't be more right.

No NDP I.

The Renewal of NORAD

In a spectacular example of its "quiet diplomacy," the Pearson cabinet on March 30 furtively renewed the North American Air Defense Agreement (NORAD) for another five years. The house of commons external affairs committee, which has been reviewing government policy on NORAD and its sister alliance, NATO, has not yet brought down its report. But when parliament resumes later this month under the new prime minister, Trudeau, NORAD will come up for ratification in the same way it did ten years ago — as a *fait accompli*.

Although the treaty is guaranteed passage through parliament (Tory leader Stanfield quickly told the press he favors the "principle of NORAD"), it is not hard to understand the Liberal government's reluctance to submit the draft to the exposure of public debate.

NORAD, which costs the working people of this country $140 million a year in taxes, is passed off on us as a defense against Soviet bomber attacks. But no one has ever taken seriously the contention that the U.S. or Canadian governments fear a bomber attack from the USSR, which in any case has plenty of missiles to defend itself. And the United States, with by far the world's largest arsenal of offensive weapons of mass destruction, certainly does not need Canada's arms to protect its far-flung interests.

NORAD's military obsolescence, however, in no way lessens the danger it poses to the life and safety of Canadians. Under this agreement, U.S. bombers fly daily maneuvers over Canadian cities and towns. The government refuses to disclose whether or not these planes are nuclear-armed; thus, we may well be risking the "accidental" nuclear conflagration the world has narrowly missed a dozen times before, most recently in Thule, Greenland.

. And whatever its military role, there's no doubt about the serious impact NORAD has had — and now will continue to have — on our political life. When President Kennedy took the world to the brink of war in 1962 in his eyeball to eyeball nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union over Cuba's right to exist, the NORAD commitments put Canada on a war footing within 24 hours, and activated Emergency Measures Organization exercises in every school classroom in the country. A few months later, NORAD toppled the Diefenbaker government when it balked at accepting nuclear weapons — which the newly-elected government of "Peace Prize Pearson" then promptly introduced.

The Defense Production sharing agreements, by which Canada directly contributes to the Vietnam war, are closely linked with NORAD and the whole concept of "continental defense" which lies behind it.

External Affairs minister Martin says renewal of the agreement doesn't commit us to participation in the projected U.S. anti-missile system. But in view of the Liberals' notorious switch in 1962, when they suddenly decided NORAD committed us to nuclear weapons, is there any reason now to believe Martin's syrupy assurances? The government announced on March 7 that it has already agreed to take part in one aspect of the new missile grid — the development of an airborne radar system across the top of North America, based on the earlier Distant Early Warning line.

The government's renewal of NORAD — in blatant disregard of the growing demand that Canada break from this infamous agreement — comes at a time when the massive and damning evidence of Canada's Vietnam complicity is opening up an unprecedented public debate on the whole question of this country's military and diplomatic alliances. For anti-war activists, the renewal of NORAD is further evidence that Liberal complicity in the war is no accident. It flows from the cheek by jowl collaboration long practiced by both capitalist parties with the U.S. military-industrial complex and the capitalist rulers of America.

idea tumbling in idea

edits — commentary — instead of programmatic

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

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Vote NDP To Power

by The Editors

"It IS a personality contest," screams the Toronto *Telegram* in a banner headline announcing the forthcoming federal election. Indeed, that's what the two boss parties would like us to think. For the first time in years, they hope they've come up with credible alternatives in the figures of the "swinging" Trudeau and the stolid Stanfield —new bottles to give the illusion that the old wine has some new zest. But really it turned to vinegar long ago.

As NDP leader T. C. Douglas points out, Trudeau was no sooner elected Liberal leader than he promised he would call parliament and present a program to it before going to the polls. Now the new P.M. says the voters must be "consulted before the government brings a program . . . before parliament." Consulted? About what? So far, Trudeau hasn't suggested he has any program significantly different from established Liberal party policy.

If it's the Liberal government's record, then the issues are clear. Despite outgoing Prime Minister Pearson's pledge that the government would reintroduce its bill to reduce drug prices immediately after the leadership convention, the bill dies with this session. With it dies Trudeau's own much-publicized legislation promising amendments to the criminal code and legalization of birth control advertising, to bring the judicial system a little closer to the twentieth century. Now we know how much Trudeau was committed to even these minor reforms.

The issues are equally clear on other matters, too. At the head of the list is the present government's craven complicity with U.S. imperialism, particularly its support of the American aggression against Vietnam. One of the first acts of the newly-elected Liberal government in 1963 was to arm the Bomarc missiles with nuclear weapons. One of Pearson's last acts as prime minister was the renewal of the discredited but dangerous NORAD treaty which maintains those weapons of mass destruction on Canadian soil.

The Tories, of course, have no basic differences with the Liberals. Stanfield says the major issue is the "competence of the government" . . . to retain the "confidence of investors."

The election flows in part from the continuing crisis of both capitalist parties, which is reflected in their repeated failure in recent years to elect a government with a clear majority of parliamentary seats. They hope to overcome the electorate's loss of confidence in them by adopting new faces at the top, while retaining the same old rotten, discredited policies.

Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald welcomes "the opportunity to cut through the image-making of the moment and present . . . issues to the people." He lists these issues as "housing, employment, interest rates, prices."

But the party's campaign must go considerably further than the election program just released by Woodsworth House in Ottawa

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For An NDP Gov't!

(continued from page 1)

entitled a "Minimum Program for a New Canadian Society." First rumors indicate that this document, which will provide the basis for the NDP's campaign, does not go beyond proposing the odd reform here and there, designed to patch up the most obvious defects in the present system, redistribute the wealth a little — in short, the same sort of program which has produced such unspectacular results for the party in the past.

T. C. Douglas has said, however, that the "real issue" in this campaign is U.S. domination of the Canadian economy. The NDP election program calls for a "Canadian capital resources fund"—which, of course, the Liberals and Conservatives also advocate. To show that it really has a solution to the exploitation of the economy by the big monopolies, the NDP must go beyond these measures limited to the framework of capitalism, and advance the demand for public ownership of the basic sectors.

The biggest issue in this election—one which the NDP must make its central theme—is the Vietnam war. New Democrats must make clear their opposition to U.S. imperialism's role not just in Canada but in the entire world by forcefully speaking out for immediate withdrawal of U.S. and allied troops from Vietnam, and against Liberal-Tory complicity in the war, including any schemes afoot to send Canadian troops or intervene in any other way in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people.

The NDP enters the election campaign fresh from its gains in recent provincial elections, particularly in Ontario last fall—gains which show it more rooted than ever in the working class areas. Building from there, the party has a major opportunity now to consolidate its position as the party of Canadian labor. If it forcefully poses a real working class alternative to the old-line capitalist parties, there is no reason why the NDP should not go forward to victory on June 25—with the election of an NDP government to Ottawa.

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VANGUARD
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Editorials
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Vietnam and the CLC

Overshadowing all the other issues confronting the Canadian Labor Congress convention in Toronto this week, is the U.S. war of aggression against the Vietnamese people.

The Canadian labor movement — and particularly the CLC — can take no pride in its record on Vietnam. True, the CLC leaders have not gone along with the scandalous defense of U.S. policy by George Meany and the AFL-CIO's executive council. But the CLC's token opposition to the war barely makes the record, and is a far cry from the clearcut program needed to give leadership to the millions of Canadians who are shocked by the wholesale destruction being meted out to the Vietnamese, and who wish to do something to end it.

The CLC has no program it fight the war. Its brief to the federal government last winter urged the U.S. to "take greater chances" in the "pursuit of peace" — when the only "peace" the U.S. "pursues" in Vietnam is the peace of the graveyard. The CLC brief did not call for withdrawal of American and allied troops from Vietnam — the only solution consistent with the Vietnamese right of self-determination — but for "meaningful negotiations." It demanded "reciprocal steps" by the Vietnamese, claiming that "any talk of total and final victory by *either* side should be rejected." As if responsibility for U.S. intervention rested on the *Vietnamese* people! U.S. imperialism has nothing to negotiate in Vietnam, no right to be there. Moreover, in complete disregard for the facts, the CLC brief virtually absolved the Liberal government of its complicity in the war.

Nothing is more indicative of the narrow-minded parochial outlook of this country's top "labor statesmen" than their utter failure to give political leadership in the struggle against the Vietnam war.

But more serious is their failure to *act*—to mobilize the tremendous forces represented by the two-million strong rank and file of organized labor, in a massive movement against intervention in Vietnam and Canadian business and government complicity in the war. The participation of some local trade union bodies such as the Vancouver Labor Council in the organized anti-war movement, stand out as commendable exceptions. Anti-war labor leaders have been hindered in fully expressing their views not by the rank and file, but by the hostility of the top CLC brass to any involvement in the anti-war movement. The CLC's virtual silence simply encourages the misconception that Vietnam — and international affairs in general — are far removed from the concerns and interests of the average trade unionist.

In Australia and Japan, longshoremen have refused to load ships bound for Vietnam. Has the CLC ever considered, let alone proposed, equivalent policies for unions in the Canadian transport, armaments, or highly strategic nickel industries?

The time is long overdue for Canada's labor movement to take the lead in opposing the slaughter in Vietnam. Anti-war work must become a key priority of the political action committees. Union locals and regional labor councils should follow the example of the London and Vancouver labor councils by affiliating to and playing an active role in, the local committees against the war. Anti-war speakers should be invited to address rank and file union meetings. Labor must generalize its opposition to the war by re-examining its support of the military alliances, NATO and NORAD, the cornerstones of the Liberal government's present complicity in Vietnam.

Finally, labor must carry the anti-war struggle into its own political party, the NDP, which has not done nearly enough to mobilize anti-war opposition. Canadian labor can ill afford to stand aside from what NDP leader T. C. Douglas has rightly called "the greatest moral issue of our time."

Contradictory

Radical Pioneers

THE WOBBLIES, by Patrick Renshaw. Doubleday and Company, 312 pages. $6.95.

In the increasing number of essays and histories of the Canadian and U.S. trade union movement — even the "official" ones — the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) are being depicted as the precursors of industrial unionism which was firmly established in the great battles waged under the banner of the CIO.

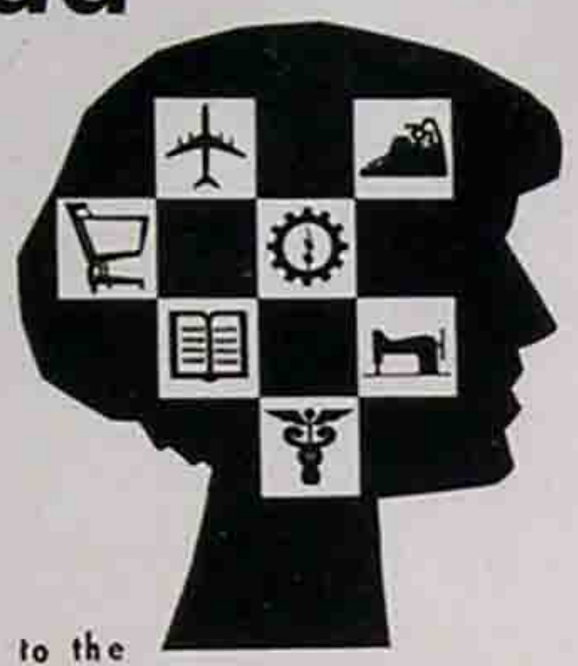
But the IWW, both in the U.S. and here, where at one time (1911) it had 10,000 members, was much more than a body of farther seeing and more militant trade unionists— as this book testifies. They were trade unionists, but of a type who never recognized private ownership of industry as right and unchallengeable.

For the Wobblies, their great union battles, well described by Renshaw, were a means to a greater end — the IWW was an organization of revolutionaries who sought to replace capitalism with the new order of socialism.

As the author notes, "It was as much an attitude to life as an industrial union . . . this faith in the possibility of a better society must remain their justification — and their epitaph." This attitude to life is once again on the increase in America, writes Renshaw in his introduction, and "for this reason perhaps, and also because the submerged nations of the world are today in revolt, a study of the IWW may be of more than academic interest."

by R.D.

The Status of Women in Canada



brief submitted to the Royal Commission by the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere

April 1968

The following is the written submission to the government's Royal Commission on the Status of Women from the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

As an organization seriously concerned about *all* problems confronting the people of Canada, the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière welcomes the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission, in the questionnaires it has circulated, has asked some pertinent questions regarding Canadian women and the law. But while an examination of the laws is both revealing and necessary, it is our opinion that the problem of women's status, which is that of an inferior in all respects, lies deeply below the surface of society and involves fundamental aspects of the economic and social structure.

In Canada we have developed our natural resources on such a scale as to clearly demonstrate the real possibility of liberating all sections of the population from social and economic insecurity. But if men are not yet free — woman is less free because she is further enslaved by her sex. We maintain that the attitudes and prejudices both reflected in and sustained in law and custom that tie woman to what has been called a second class citizenship, are embedded in the very foundations of present day society and that a

fundamental change in this society will be required to eradicate them.

The situation confronting women in Canada — a developed industrial society — demonstrates all the more clearly the profound character of the problem. The high standard of living, advancing birth control techniques, extensive legal rights, access to all levels of education — all these have contributed towards the emancipation of woman and have helped free her from the hardships that have traditionally burdened her down.

Contradictions

But what is the real situation?

— technology has rendered housework almost obsolete. But despite the fact that more and more married women are entering the labor market[1] large numbers continue to function almost entirely outside the social mainstream, tied by a thousand threads to the maintenance of the home.

— women have the *right* to vote, to run for public office, to own property. Yet the political and economic life of the country remains dominated by a minority of men.

— the federal government has recognized the concept of equal pay for equal work. Yet in some provinces the law actually condones wage inequality between men and women. Even where equal pay legislation is on the books women receive substantially lower wages for doing the same work as men.[2] While the trade union movement is in the forefront of this struggle, it has not yet won it.

— it is conceded that women and men have equal mental capacities. Yet early in the school years, women are systematically streamed out of the analytical subjects and channelled into less creative, less prestigious and less rewarding areas.[3]

— women have the right to higher education and to work in the professions. Yet the number of women who actually graduate from college is far lower than men, and with the exception of nursing, librarianship and teaching, women compose less than 10 percent (as low as 3 percent in some) of the main professions in Canada.[4] Even in those professions where women are the majority, men hold nearly all the key positions.

— advancing birth control techniques give women increasing control over their bodies. Yet thousands of unwanted babies continue to be born and many illegal abortions are performed at great risk and loss of life.

What Must Be Done?

These contradictions point to the fact that woman's inferior position in society, is not merely a result of custom or law, but is deeply rooted in the existing social and economic order which they sustain. How are we to solve these problems? The implementation by the government of the following program would constitute the first necessary steps to allow woman to take her place as an equal partner in society.

1) *Woman must be freed from her traditional responsibilities for the child.*

— the child has the right to everything that society can provide, regardless of the resources of the parents. Parents should not be burdened with providing for the child but

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every facility should be available for the full development of the child. A far reaching system of government financed facilities including nursery schools and day care centers must be established. In this way those women who prefer employment outside the home would be able to seek it. Those who prefer to be homemakers should receive a wage from the state. The family, through the imposition on its slender resources of the responsibilities of society as a whole, has taken on many of the forms of a prison. With the implementation of these propositions, the family could freely evolve into a harmonious relationship between human beings.

Birth Control, Abortion

2) *Woman must have complete control of her body.*

— the government must initiate a widespread educational campaign on birth control, and establish community birth control centers for the dissemination and distribution of birth control information and devices. Both of these projects should be financed by the government. Any and all restrictions on the right of women to determine whether or not to bear a child should be removed.

3) *Special measures must be taken to ensure that women benefit fully from the educational system.*

— all educational fees must be abolished and an income provided for students adequate to meet their essential needs while attending school.

— all educational institutions must be co-educational.

— all classes must be co-educational, with the presently all-female home economics courses dropped and substituted with a general living course which would equip both

girls and boys to take care of themselves.

— women should be given special encouragement in the analytical fields, such as maths and sciences, in order to compensate for the social prejudices which now exist and which discourage them from developing their individual abilities in these areas.

Write Women Back Into History!

— school text books should be completely rewritten to exclude sex discrimination. Women must be written back into history! Not only are fundamental questions about the changing role of women through the ages still unexplored, but it is only recently that a start has been made in straightening out the slanders against the feminists,(5) only lately that we have learned of great and brave women who fought along with men for social progress in the past. How many more valiant women are buried in history? Would not women today be inspired to hear of them! A retelling of history would banish forever the myth of feminine inferiority!

4) *All barriers excluding women from equality in the area of work must be removed.*

— the minimum wage must be the same for women and men in all provinces.

— sex discrimination in job classification must be eliminated.

— all employers must be required by law to grant generous maternity leave with full pay.

While implementation of these demands would not secure full equality for women, it would pave the way towards this objective.

But why haven't even these requirements for woman's emancipation been achieved? And why do women appear not to have taken advantage of the opportunities that presently exist? *There are two standard answers that are given. One is that woman's "nature" is such that she is incapable of rising to a state of equality with men. The other (our answer) is that class society has enslaved woman and continues to do so to this day through capitalist society.*

The Myth of Woman's Inferiority

It has often been stated that women are predestined by their biological make-up to center their lives around child rearing and the home. Biology equals destiny. This view holds that both woman's intellect and psychology are affected and conditioned by her maternal role. "Women are not necessarily inferior to men. They are just different." This view maintains that the beautiful qualities of femininity, "receiving, keeping and nourishing"(6) are contained only in woman and must not be sacrificed by woman taking on other roles. Woman is presented as a unique and mysterious creature. This is a most beguiling presentation of the myth of feminine inferiority, one that at the same time enshrines and debases her. This view argues that woman not be legally discriminated against, only condemned forever to her special role. These concepts are nothing but a rationalization of the situation that now prevails — and there is no truth in them.(7) We reject these pronouncements based on some timeless concept of the essential "nature" of man and woman. It is not woman's "nature" that has placed man at the pivotal position in

present day society.

There was an extensive period in human history of far greater duration than what is known as western civilization when society revolved around woman, not man. We are led to accept the idea that woman has always been the "second sex." The role of woman in primitive times has been hidden from us. This is the period in social and productive relations known as the matriarchy. It was woman who invented agriculture, toolmaking and architecture, who first domesticated animals, while primitive man, who spent prolonged periods on the hunt, was isolated from the community. This period, which stretched over hundreds of thousands of years, came to an end, not due to any belated resurgence of an essential "nature"(8) of woman but due to the development of class society.

What Determines Woman's Status?

It was only with vast changes in social productive relations that woman's role in society changed. An examination of the varied role woman has played in history shows that it is the social productive relations and her relation to them that determined woman's social role and position. From the matriarchy — the social relations of primitive communist society — has evolved what we know today as capitalism. Here too the social forces determine woman's role. The main feature of this society is the private ownership of the means of production and their utilization solely for the profit of those owning them. An appreciation of this is vitally important to the understanding of the present situation of woman.

→to page 3

Woman has been relegated to the role of raising and training the next generation of workers, and on occasion, when required, has been thrust directly into the work force herself. Woman has been shunted on and off the labor market to meet the needs of an unplanned and profit motivated economy.

During World War II women's services were required to keep up war time production. The way was opened for them to enter the work force. Nursery schools and day care centers were built. All the traditional myths and concepts about the duties of woman were shoved aside. The first responsibility of woman was to leave the home, put children aside, and assume the role that heretofore had been declared the domain of man. A new atmosphere was created which showed itself everywhere in popular magazines and advertisements. These featured spirited and independent women with different dress, different hairstyles, and a different psychology. This process came to an abrupt halt with the close of the war when her services were no longer required and an atmosphere was generated to reverse it.(9)

Capitalism the Source of Inequality

This incredible reversal within a decade shows that woman's role in this society — capitalist society — is determined by the needs of this society, i.e., the interests of the dominant class in this society, the capitalists, and not the interests of the great majority, the working class, both male and female.

The implementation of the propositions advanced in the

first part of our presentation —
— complete freedom for a woman to decide whether or not to bear a child;
— wages for homemakers;
— community responsibility for children, etc.
— these would vastly improve woman's position in present day Canadian society. But their chief significance lies not in the establishment of this or that individual right. At best they lay the foundations from which the whole struggle to free womankind can move forward.

We have referred to the experience of the World War II and post-World War II years in Canada. The experience of German women — under the post-World War I regime where they made great gains only to have them brutally wiped out overnight under the fascist dictatorship of Hitler with its "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" — is also worth noting.

Full Partnership — Under Socialism

As long as capitalist society prevails whatever gains woman establishes, in material form and in status, are always tentative and in jeopardy. The implementation of these proposals would represent a marked advance towards removing capitalism, the social and productive basis of woman's subjugation: and at the same time take us forward to the establishment of a new society — socialism.

Woman is victimized both on account of her sex and her state as a worker. Hence she is doubly oppressed. Woman must seek a society that knows no inequalities of sex, race, or class. Equality for woman — free partnership with man — cannot be found in an unjust and exploitative

society. It can only be found in a society where the great productive forces created by our collective effort are at the full disposal of humanity, where the economy is planned to meet human need and where production is geared for human use — in a socialist society.

Footnotes

1. Women's Bureau, Department of Labor. *Changing Patterns in Women's Employment*. Page 6, table 1, page 7.
2. *Chatelaine*, January, 1968. "The Royal Commission on the Status of Women: Will It Do Any Good?"
3. Paul Herst. *A Commentary on the Motivation and Education of College Women*. National Association of Women Deans and Counsellors Journal. Jan., 1962. #25. Pages 51-59.
4. Department of Labor. *Occupational Trends in Canada 1931-1961*. Report #11; page 57, chart 1; page 60, chart 4; page 40, table 4.
5. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*. Chapter 4 "The Passionate Journey."
6. Karl Stern. *The Flight From Woman*. Chapters 2 and 3.
7. Eve Merriam, *After Nora Slammed the Door*. Part IV, "Sex and Semantics," pages 216-218.
8. Robert Briffault, *The Mothers*.
9. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, "The Happy Housewife Heroine," pages 32-35.

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Some Key Reading on The Situation of Women

by Ruth Blake

One of the many injustices women share with oppressed minorities is the constant distortion, not only of their history, but of their abilities — biological, intellectual and social. Lack of reliable information, as well as the abundance of debasing images and half-truths will be a problem for women who want to prepare a case for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.

No doubt it is in recognition of this that the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor has recently published a 42 page bibliography of material relevant to the Royal Commission. This most useful and thorough list can be obtained from the Department of Labor. Meanwhile, here is an outline of a few of the books and articles that have been useful in the preparation of the brief, and which help present a clearer picture of the historical, social and economic roles of woman.

Two fundamental aspects of woman's history are her role in pre-history when she was a paramount social force, and the struggle for legal emancipation. For a Marxist analysis of the matriarchy, the subsequent shift in property relations and to male dominance, the basic work is **The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State**

by Fredrick Engels, the close associate of Karl Marx; while **The Mothers** by Robert Briffault gives a vivid and detailed portrait of this period.

As far as women's suffrage is concerned, Catherine Cleverdon's **The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada** seems to be the only book available to Canadian women on this vital part of their past, and this is unfortunate. While there is no doubt that equal property laws and the vote were attained with relative ease by Canadian women (usually inspired by the dynamism of events in the United States and largely won, with the exception of Quebec, by the early 1900's), the author's coy style, her referrals to "hardships and heartaches" and her many reassurances that Canadians decried the "violence" of the British and American struggles makes uninspired reading. Surely it was not all tea parties and petitions?

American Suffrage Movement

In contrast to this, in form as well as content, some excellent books have recently appeared on the American suffrage movement. **Woman's Rights** by Eleanor Coolridge is a brief, but very moving picture of the important American feminists, excellent as an introduction; Eleanor Flexer's **Century of Struggle** is far more political and thorough, with emphasis, for the first time, on the part played by labor and black women. Both books make it clear that the battle for woman's rights ebbed and flowed with the tides of other forms of social protest, like the abolition movement, although the two were far from always being in harmony. It is not unusual, then, with the world today in

turmoil, that woman should begin, after a long silence, to be concerned about her status. The appearance of these books is an indication of the rising consciousness.

On Woman's Role

On general questions of woman's "nature" and role, Margaret Mead's famous **Male and Female** is useful. For although the famous anthropologist draws incorrect conclusions, as Betty Friedan points out in the **Feminine Mystique,** the data Mead gives on the multiplicity of roles played by women in the various tribes she studied points in another direction. Concerning maternity, Alice K. Rossi in her article "Equality between the sexes" **(Women in America,** editor Lifton) shows that the American mother's exclusive attention to her children is an historical first. She then powerfully documents the case against full time motherhood.

When the time comes to get down to specific situations, Canadian women can arm themselves well with evidence of their inequal state with statistics, charts and tables provided in concise form by the Canadian Department of Labor. The pamphlets **Women at Work in Canada** (1964) and **Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931-61** can be bought for less than a dollar and graphically demonstrate that Canadian women are consistently paid inequal wages in low paying, low prestige work, and that [illegible] to no advance has been made in the professions by women.

With these facts at her disposal, and with the correct analytical tools, woman should be able to swim against the tide of misinformation that seeks to keep her in her place.

Woman must have complete control of her body. Birth control devices and information freely available to all. The removal of all restrictions on abortion.

Special measures to ensure that women have complete access to education. Abolition of fees and an income provided to students; universal co-education; special encouragement in analytical fields. Write woman back into history.

For a family that is a harmonious relationship between human beings. Free educational facilities for children from birth to maturity. This would permit women to seek employment outside the home. A state wage for those who choose to be homemakers.

For complete equality of women at work.

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THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 17 (149) May 13, 1968 Toronto — 10 Cents

Vote Class Vote NDP!

J. V. Clyne is a man who expects his words to be acted upon. As boss of B.C.'s biggest monopoly, MacMillan & Bloedel Ltd., he has come to expect it.

Last December he made a speech on how the B.C. government should handle organized labor in that province. And a few months later the Socred government, headed up by the former Tory W. A. C. Bennett, jammed through the house a law which was a carbon copy of Clyne's speech. This law empowers the government to impose compulsory arbitration on any sector of the labor movement it sees fit to do so.

On the eve of May 1 Mr. Clyne made another speech. The occasion was the annual general meeting of the shareholders of this colossal corporation, so few in number that they could fit comfortably in a public telephone booth. This time he spoke to the daily press, which of course enthusiastically played it up — so that we could all get the word.

Mr. Clyne's theme this time was how we should vote in the coming June 25 federal elections. He didn't bother about personalities or go into the fine points of program. He just called the line — straight and clear as he and his class see it.

Trudeau? or Stanfield? Liberal? Progressive Conservative? or Social Credit? Couldn't care less! Vote class, was Clyne's advice.

If you get the answer "retrenchment, drastic reduction of government expenditure," that's your man, according to Clyne.

It's no matter that it was Trudeau who, with patrician disdain, stated that it is "my belief that we have had enough of this free stuff" — like free university tuition, day care nurseries and medicare — and spoke with favor about the use of the means test.

(See page 3)

CONVENTION. A view of the 2,000 c Toronto. CLC rejected demands for great voted to drop constitutional clauses barr draft foreign policy statement, for not government complicity in the war. (Full

New Sc In Queb

Montreal and Ottawa socialists celebrated May Day '68 by inaugurating their new headquarters.

The Ottawa Socialist Center, at 238 Arlington (corner of Percy), marks an important achievement for the socialist movement in that city. The new center, which includes a bright meeting hall, offices, kitchen, literature display room and a lounge, should provide the focal point for radical activity in Ottawa. It is the headquarters of the League

for So Social istes.

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→ to page 2

WV #149 May 13/68 – Editorials, page 2

Clyne Calls the Line

(Continued from page 1)

It is strictly coincidental that it was Trudeau who revealed that he is cool towards a tax on profits gained through the sale of stocks and real estate — a tax, a capital gains tax on this favorite method that top executives have for getting considerable tax free income.

And so what if it was Trudeau, who through an unprecedented order in council, granted an exemption on withholding tax on interest and dividends to the financiers of the billion dollar Brinco power project! Normally investors in the company's 400 million dollars worth of development bonds would have to pay a 15 percent tax.

But wouldn't Mr. Stanfield if he were in office, with or without the Socreds in tow, do the same? Anyone who knows the score at all knows he would.

Another test? What's the cause of inflation? asks Mr. Clyne. Of course, reckless government spending and wage increases! There it is. Crystal clear. Take your choice — any choice — Liberal, Progressive Conservative or Socred.

So having started off strong demanding an end to Canadian complicity in the U.S. war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, possibly the NDP leadership may taper it off as the campaign goes on. That would be bad!

And yes, with the much-touted "Minimum Program for a New Canadian Society" the NDP leadership doesn't even hint at socialism, at an ultimate objective. A grievous mistake.

Probably many of the candidates will be middle class and not workers that militants can identify with.

But Mr. Clyne has made the case clear, crystal clear, that supporters of his class should vote for any of the Liberal, Progressive Conservative or Socred candidates. And by the same measure, any working man, woman or youth should support and vote for any candidate of the New Democratic Party.

BUILDING THE SOCIALIST PRESS

We Made It - Over the Top!

by The Editors

The biggest news at the LSA/LSO May Day banquets and rallies was the success of the 1968 Workers Vanguard/La Lutte Ouvrière Fund Drive.

With the last returns still coming in from across the country, it seems clear that we reached our objective of $12,500 — the largest sum ever by far!

Already, we've received $10,073 in cash, which breaks down as follows:

Vancouver	$ 1,745
Montreal	1,000
Alberta	591
Toronto	5,419
Youth (YS/LJS)	1,318
Total	$10,073

In addition to this, we have been assured of pledges totalling $1,995, including $755 from Vancouver and about $1,000 from the Youth. We are confident that the remaining unreported contributions when added to this $12,028, will not only meet our $12,500 goal, but put us over the top!

The success of this year's publications drive is all the more impressive when compared with previous years. In 1961, the year the New Democratic Party was founded, we raised $2,100 for the **Vanguard.** By 1964, this had risen to $4,000. Last year, we made a special appeal to make the monthly **Vanguard** a twice-monthly, and raised $9,250 from our friends and supporters. This year, we joined forces with the Montreal journal **La Lutte Ouvrière,** published by our co-thinkers in the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, to raise our objective by another 25 percent. As the results testify, we did not set our sights too high.

The success of the drive is in part due to the new interest in the expanded Vanguard — our greater ability to cover events in the NDP and the anti-war and labor movements. But it is also due in large part to you, our readers, who contributed more than ever to make our work in the coming year as effective as possible.

MAY DAY. A view of the guests at Toronto banquet. Banner reads: "On May Day — with Vietnam, Cuba and the World Struggle for Socialism."

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In New Westminst
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#150 May 27, 1968

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Defeat the War Parties!

by The Editors

Will Canadian troops be sent to Vietnam as part of a new international police force? The *Vanguard* warned of this danger a month ago following reports in the daily press that the Liberal government had "reactivated" surveys of the availability of Canadian troops for service in Vietnam, the morning after Lyndon Johnson's announcement that he would seek not the presidency but "peace" in south-east Asia.

This news came on the heels of recent reports of Canadian troops training in "counter-guerrilla" tactics in Peurto Rico, Alaska, and Australia — in some cases, under the direct instruction of U.S. and allied Vietnam veterans. In one of his last interviews as Prime Minister, Pearson had warned that "Canada should be prepared to send troops to Vietnam."

Now, in Edmonton May 13, Prime Minister Trudeau himself has confirmed that the Liberal government is serious in its threat to back up its support for U.S. Vietnam objectives by intervening militarily to block the progress of the Vietnam revolution. Expressing sympathy for the predicament the U.S. faces as a result of its military and political setbacks at the hands of the Vietnamese, and its ensuing attempt to make a deal with north Vietnam at the Paris "peace" talks, Trudeau voiced the wish that "eventually" the south Vietnamese dictatorship "would not have to rely so heavily on U.S. military might."

Did Trudeau support withdrawal of U.S. troops?

No. "It would be a mistake," the "pragmatic" P.M. quickly added, "to ask the Americans to pull out without sending in some kind of international force to insure that there is no invasion of South Vietnam." In support of his threat that the "Canadian government will do all it can to play a role in re-establishing peace in that area," Trudeau told a news conference that he had already discussed with UN secretary-general U Thant a Canadian role in "certain developments along the Mekong Delta."

Is the government simply sending up a trial balloon, to test public reaction to these scandalous proposals? There's precedent for such Canadian intervention — in the Mid-east, Congo, Cyprus. It may be the leaders of Canada's capitalist parties look to a "solution" in Vietnam like that they applied in Korea fifteen years ago, where Canadian troops participated in an imperialist force — under the United Nations flag, of course — to stall the extension of the Korean revolution.

But Trudeau's call for direct Canadian military aid to prop up the discredited Saigon regime underlines a key issue in this election campaign — the Liberal government's complicity in the war. What right has the Canadian government, which reacts with such indignation against French cultural "intervention" in Quebec, to volunteer its services in aid of the United States' brutal aggression against the Vietnamese people? The government never called for an international force to protect the Vietnamese against the 500,000 U.S. and allied troops who invaded south Vietnam. It has no more right than the United States to bolster up a military dictatorship which the Vietnamese would have overthrown long ago if they had been left to conduct their own affairs as a free people.

When U.S. setbacks in Vietnam forced LBJ to give up his ambitions for another four years in the White House, the Canadian government, which has apologized for his policies right down the line — defending each successive escalation, blaming north Vietnam for "prolonging hostilities," justifying its growing government-solicited arms sales in support of the Pentagon war effort — was seriously compromised. That it continues to defend American policy, instead of acknowledging the utter bankruptcy of its complicity, is proof that this government and the war profit-bloated interests it serves, are wholly committed, lock, stock, and barrel, to the aggressive policies and mentality of the cold war.

As for the Conservatives, they underwrite one hundred percent the Liberal policy. Tory leader Robert Stanfield has expressed many times his "sympathy" for the U.S. position. He recently told a Carleton university audience, "I'm not prepared to consider the U.S. as an enemy aggressor."

There is only one party campaigning in this election against the war and Canada's role in it — and that's the New Democratic Party. NDP leader T. C. Douglas has condemned Canada's $300 million arms sales, and has demanded that war industries be converted to peacetime purposes. Moreover, the NDP is firmly committed to oppose the NORAD alliance which ties us to the Pentagon war machine and is a major element in Canada's foreign policy. Some NDP spokesmen are raising the demand that Canada break from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which has allied us with some of the most reactionary dictatorships in the world (Greece, Portugal).

The anti-war movement, which has adopted the slogan Vote against the War Parties, faces an important challenge — and responsibility — to roll up a big anti-war vote by helping elect an NDP government on June 25.

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THE WORKERS VANGUARD #151 June 10, 1968

Liberals, Tories are Avoiding the Issues

by Ross Dowson

Talk on the issues before the voters this election: on the housing crisis, on the ever-rising cost of living, U.S. economic penetration, Canada's membership in NATO-NORAD, its involvement in Vietnam, and what you propose to do about them. "Issues!" "Issues!" demanded the picket signs carried by a squad of youth at one of Prime Minister Trudeau's shopping plaza extravaganzas — on this occasion, in Winnipeg.

So obviously, so crudely has the Trudeau campaign been designed to concentrate on the personality plane that it has become embarrassing to even his most vigorous supporters. The kingmakers on Toronto's King Street, the editors of the *Star*, who were the most strident partisans of Trudeau in the Liberal leadership campaign, have even felt called upon to respond to this discontent.

Personality

"Charming Pierre, versus sober Bob. There are the roles," they write in their lead May 29 editorial, "which the Liberal and Conservative central casting offices have obviously assigned to their respective leaders in the federal election campaign. Each party is building its strategy around the personality of its man rather than on serious discussion of basic issues.

"Mr. Trudeau," they note, "has offered to stop talking about the only issue he has raised (Quebec) though he has continued to discuss it in French Canada. Mr. Stanfield has agreed to the P.M.'s offer. If they stop debating this issue it is hard to see where the leaders are going to join battle on any ground except personalities. . ."

"An issueless campaign," they observe "leaves the voters with too little basis for judgment."

Too little basis, say the *Star* editors. If that were the basis for choice — the personality of the Liberal or Progressive Conservative leader — that would be none at all. What can the electorate know of the personality of these leaders or any of their camp followers? And what would it mean if they could? They can, and an increasing number do, know their parties and their record in government, what interests their policies serve, their commitment to defend and extend the interests of the capitalist class. But that is just what they are trying to cover up on us.

Issues Obscured

It is no accident that the Liberal and Progressive Conservative party strategists have their front men conduct a policy-less campaign. They want to shove far into the background all the crucial problems confronting the working people. This is a highly satisfactory agreement for them since when it comes to matters of policy there is not a hair's difference between them.

If this turns the whole election campaign as presented over radio, TV and through the press, into a carnival, that is because that is the essence of the whole parliamentary game — a form of musical chairs.

Liberals out — Tories in — a majority Liberal government or a minority Tory government, it is all the same. In any case the interests of the real rulers of Canada are defended all down the line. The interests of the giant monopolies, the industrialists, the banks, the trusts, the exploiters of the workers' labor power, the looters of the mineral and forest wealth are loyally upheld and extended.

Above all, in this election they want this game to play on undisturbed. That means cut out the New Democratic Party.

Slush Funds

John Aird made this very clear in an interview with leading newspaper columnist Ron Haggart in the May 14 Toronto *Telegram*. Aird should know, as he is the most important Liberal party fund collector. This year this little-known Bay

(See page 7)

Why They Fear the NDP

(Continued from page 1)

Street lawyer will raise 3¾ million dollars for the Liberals — the cheques are made out to a trust company and sent to an account which Aird controls. He raises the big money from companies whose average donation is about $5,000, but sometimes goes up to $75,000.

Aside from the usual reasons why corporations give funds to the Liberals or Tories — to serve some particular interests of theirs or general purposes of class solidarity, Aird said there was a specific appeal. "I have never made a call yet," he said "without discussing the two party system." Translated into simple direct English this means the danger of the NDP.

It is not the program of the NDP on this or that specific question, nor the present leadership of the NDP, that they fear. They see that through the NDP thousands of working men and women are entering into the arena of politics — are beginning to seriously concern themselves about conditions that confront them and about finding solutions.

The NDP poses the challenge of workers' power which they clearly understand is on the agenda in France and fear may not be too far down on the agenda in Canada.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#151 June 10, 1968

Editor: ROSS DOWSON

Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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THE CANDIDATES

Robert Stanfield is a scion of one of the oldest and wealthiest families in Nova Scotia founded on the sweated and low paid labor in the textile industry. A corporation lawyer, he moved in as an organization man to completely rejuvenate the Tory party there. He was elected into office in 1949 and became premier in 1956. His 11 years of office marked one of the greatest economic declines ever suffered by the Atlantic provinces.

Pierre Elliot Trudeau is the scion of a wealthy Montreal family. While often presented as a bon vivant and intellectual dilletant, he taught law at the Université de Montréal and has long been a popular figure at conferences and seminars where the bourgeoisie train their intellectual elite. He was a civil servant to the Privy Council some 20 years ago and, when elected to the Commons in 1965, was quickly brought by Lester Pearson into the innermost workings of the bourgeois state apparatus.

Millionaire Robert Winters, following his defeat in his bid for Liberal leader, has as the *Financial Post* noted in a recent caption, swung "right back in the business fold," from Liberal cabinet minister of trade and commerce to president of Brazilian Light and Power. But Eric Kierans, the former president of the Montreal Stock Exchange and the Canadian Stock Exchange, following his defeat in a bid for the Liberal leadership, is still in there contesting the Montreal riding of Duvernay. Wallace McCutcheon, millionaire associate of the Argus Corporation, is in the running again under the Tory banner.

A name appearing on the ballot in Winnipeg South is the very symbol of Canadian corporate wealth. Liberal candidate James Richardson is chairman and chief executive officer of James Richardson and Sons Ltd., the multi-million dollar family-owned octopus with its tentacles reaching across the Prairies into securities, investments, grain, transportation, insurance and real estate.

But the Tories are not to be outmatched. In poverty-ridden Newfoundland they have the millionaire fishpacker Frank Moores on their list, and in Peel South, Earl K. Brownridge, president of American Motors (Canada). Topping the cross-Canada Liberal-Tory listing of small-time ambitious apologists and defenders of capitalist interests is Marcel Faribault. He has already resigned his post as president of Trust Général du Canada and the Sherbrooke Trust Company. If this Tory candidate is elected he will have to shed directorships in another 15 companies which include Bell (Canada), Dominion Textiles, International Business Machines and Roynat Limited.

ce Sheet of French Events

SEE PAGE 4

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UARD

4, 1968 Toronto — 10 Cents

WV #152 - June 24, 1968

Left Groups Vow to Fight De Gaulle Ban

By the Political Committee, League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

While de Gaulle welcomes back the neo-fascists, his government has outlawed all the militant student and left-wing organizations which have led the mighty mass movement in France. On June 12, as the general strike of the workers tapered off in its fourth week and the national pre-election period began, Premier Pompidou dissolved seven student groups.

These are the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), the March 22 Movement led by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Workers Voice, the anarchist Revolutionary Group, the Maoist Union of Communist Youth (Marxist-Leninist), the Federation of Revolutionary Students (FER), and the Liaison Committee of Revolutionary Students.

Inside

We are continuing our extensive coverage of the French events in this issue, with the on-the-spot reports appearing on pages 3 to 6. These articles are also appearing, together with other related material, in the U.S. socialist weekly, *The Militant*.

The government likewise prohibited all street demonstrations during the election campaign, which opened June 10 and extends until the June 30 runoffs.

The next day, June 13, Pompidou illegalized four adult political organizations: the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), French section of the Fourth International; the Lambertiste Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI); the Maoist Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and an anarchist group.

The official charge against these persecuted organizations is that they organized subversive commando squads, a frameup accusation which they have denied. They are being banned under a conspiracy law, enacted during the Popular Front days of 1936, which prevents the prohibited organizations from carrying on any of the normal functions of a political group, "directly or indirectly." Anyone who in the opinion

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PARIS, June 1. Protesting de Gaulle's May 30 threat of civil war, 20,000 to 30,000 students marched through the Latin Quarter. The militant demonstration took place despite opposition from the Communist party and the CP-led General Federation of Labor.

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DeGaulle Bans Left Groups

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of the police defied the decree is liable to be tried and faces six months to two years in jail plus fines.

Both the PCI and the JCR immediately issued statements that they refuse to recognize the legality of the ban and propose to fight it in the courts and in the streets. Latest reports (see inside) indicate that the repression against the left is being stepped up.

While the leaders of the Socialist Party and the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left and other political, labor and student bodies immediately denounced the ban, the Communist party and its labor federation, the CGT, kept mum. Without doubt, de Gaulle and his prime minister would not have dared to undertake such repressions unless they were sure they could go ahead without serious objection from the forces controlled by the CGT and CP bureaucrats.

Charles DeGaulle

The government repressions are all the more ominous in view of the coalition with the far right which de Gaulle is hastily cementing. Neo-fascist officers who once plotted to overthrow de Gaulle are being openly courted, many of them being released from prison or allowed to return to France. In addition to the mobilization of all available military and police forces, extralegal armed Gaullist groups called "Committees for the Defense of the Republic" are springing up under semi-official protection. They are being readied for use against insurgent workers, students and peasants.

The attempted dissolution of the left-wing groups in a national pre-election period demonstrates what a mockery de Gaulle's electoral machinations really are. The elections are designed to give the capitalist rulers enough time to stave off further advances of the workers' struggle, exhaust the energies of the workers, and, at the propitious moment, proceed to behead and smash their offensive.

The League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière expresses solidarity with all the victims of repression and particularly with our comrades in the PCI and JCR who have been conducting an uncompromising struggle against Gaullism and for socialism. We are confident that they will emerge from this attack stronger than ever.

The LSA/LSO appeals to all organizations and individuals in Canada who are concerned with the defense of civil liberties to express their opposition to these repressive measures.

THE FACE OF REACTION. Armed with rifles and shields, French police of the CRS (Republican Security Companies), de Gaulle's elite troopers, beat student in Latin Quarter of Paris. On June 16, cops finally succeeded in evacuating Sorbonne, which students had taken

Next Issue

The next issue of the *Vanguard* will be published Wednesday, July 10.

Statement By YS/LJS

Gary Porter, executive secretary of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the Canadian counterpart of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR — Revolutionary Communist Youth), issued a statement June 14 labelling de Gaulle's move "an outrageous and dictatorial move against the very organizations which have inspired the . . . great democratic resurgence of the French people."

"Together with the outlawing of all meetings and demonstrations," Porter declared, "the banning of these groups shows how de Gaulle's regime is preparing to turn back the struggles of the entire French working class and to end what he calls the 'glory' of France in a fascist dictatorship."

Similar statements were issued around the same time by the Edmonton Young Socialists and the Vancouver League for Socialist Action.

Demonstrations at French consulates and information agencies are being held June 22 in cities across North America, in solidarity with the French workers and students and to protest de Gaulle's outlawing of revolutionary organizations and his ban on public demonstrations.

In Vancouver, the student council at Simon Fraser University has scheduled a demonstration in the Mall, and a "teach-in" on Friday, June 21 at noon. The Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Victims of De Gaulle Repression will be demonstrating at the French consulate the next day.

Other demonstrations are scheduled in Edmonton, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

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Federal Elections

Win, Lose, Draw, NDP Votes Win

by The Editors

As we go to press the federal election campaign is winding up. By the time you read this, the ballots will have been tallied.

Whether the NDP loses or gains more votes, whether it loses or gains more seats, whether it fails to win the balance of power or the majority that would be required to even initiate, let alone carry out, a serious program of social change, the only votes that count are those rolled up behind the NDP.

They are the votes that point to a serious possibility of working people in this country coming to grips with the problems confronting them and shaping out a new society — a socialist future for Canada.

To be sure, the NDP leadership did not identify the party with socialism. But they did talk about the present situation that confronts the working people under this capitalist system that is serviced by the Liberal and Tory parties. And in this sense this election campaign marked a tremendous stride forward for the whole movement, which it must not be allowed to slide back from.

In all previous campaigns the leadership has bent every effort to present the NDP as merely another, a third party, and energetically sought the good will of the opponent boss parties, attempting to establish the respectability of the party and so win middle class support. In this campaign, the NDP broke from that suicidal course, firmly identified itself with the trade union movement, and directed its appeal to the working class.

This was made all the easier by the fact that the Liberals and Tories were hell-bent on ending the continued parliamentary deadlock that is

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. . . The NDP Campaign

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having a debilitating effect on their forces, and exerted every effort to realign voting patterns and overcome that deadlock within the old-line party framework. Trudeau and Stanfield attempted to outdo one another in a mock concern over the taxpayers' dollars, and clearly dissociated themselves from anything that could be likened to welfare state-ism — leaving that field almost entirely to the NDP.

The NDP candidates moved into the gap and talked up the main issues confronting the people of this country: the housing crisis, soaring prices, pollution and destruction of natural resources, the crucial question of Ottawa's complicity in the U.S. State Department's dirty war of aggression in Vietnam. They talked on the issues, and thereby presented the party as the only one that is in any way opposed to the whole trend of things. But they failed to present an alternative program.

The candidates did not probe beneath the surface to reveal the root cause of the situation — the capitalist system — nor did they outline a rounded program of actions that would have to be taken to rectify the situation. Thus the party was highly vulnerable to Liberal-Tory charges of pie-in-the-sky promises.

We are unable to say just what effect this grave lack, and the Liberal-Tory exposure, will have on the vote. But we do know that a programless campaign prevents the movement from getting all it could from the gigantic and costly electioneering effort. It leaves the whole struggle for social change entirely in the arena of the periodic election. It doesn't educate forces to work on the general arena of the class struggle on a day-to-day basis.

But this campaign certainly heightened interest in the NDP. It also points up the need for the socialists in the party to broaden their struggle to win the party to a class struggle program.

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Lessons for Canadian Socialists

Crisis of U.K. Labor

by Anne Macdonald

The experience of the British Labor Party in power under Harold Wilson shows that the mere election of a labor government does not itself assure the fulfillment of the expectations which always lie behind the labor vote. After four years of Labor government, three of them with a massive parliamentary majority, the British working people are reeling under the successive blows dealt them by Wilson and his ministers as they attempt to bolster up the sagging fortunes of British capitalism. The results of Wilson's brutal austerity program, his sell-out of the deepest aspirations of the British working class has justified the question being posed in the minds of many NDP members as to whether the British experience need be or will be repeated in Canada under an NDP government.

The role of the Labor government is aptly summarized by Pat Jordan, editor of a new British socialist monthly, *International*. Writing in the May and June issues, Jordan explains:

"The special function of the Wilson government is to push through measures which are necessary for British capitalism to rationalize itself. It seeks to do this by using its influence on the trade unions to reduce working class resistance to these measures. The entire history of the British Labor Party and all other right wing social democratic parties bears out this assessment."

Shocked by Wilson's betrayal of everything the labor movement has fought for, Labor party members have reacted in different ways. Some suffer quietly inside the party; others, and there is a growing number of them, are turning their backs to the party leaders, following the large numbers of British workers who are deserting the party at the polls.

None of these options, however, will convince the mass of British workers of the need and the possibility for an alternative socialist program and leadership to Wilson.

Recent electoral defeats of Labor have come about mainly through massive abstentions at the polls by the class-conscious British workers. As long as the workers show no inclination to set about building an alternative mass anti-capitalist party, the argument for the socialist alternative must be carried ultimately toward the Labor party milieu. The old parliamentary "left," many of whose leading spokesmen such as Barbara Castle have accepted direct responsibility in the Cabinet for implementing Wilson's wage freeze and incomes policy, has been exposed as completely opportunist. But, Pat Jordan points out, "it is still possible that the huge trade union opposition could, if it avoids compromise and the abandonment of political struggle, provide the mass base" for the development of a mass left wing. The role of the class struggle socialists, he says, "would have to be that of helping this mass left to work out a consistent, realistic and offensive strategy and program."

Three recent developments make it imperative that British socialists take a correct attitude toward the Labor party — first, the worsening economic situation, which has seen the biggest drop in British living standards since World War II; second, the massive rejection of the Labor party in recent elections, especially at the municipal level; and third, the deepgoing reverberations of Tory leader Powell's extreme right-wing and racist statements, which demonstrate the Conservatives' readiness to move toward a "strong" state along the lines of Gaullism.

Pat Jordan points out that one of the major factors in encouraging disillusioned militants to remain active in left-wing politics is the formation and strengthening of "non-exclusive united front organs of struggle on particular issues." The campaign for workers' control in the nationalized industries, and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, which organized the very successful anti-war demonstration of 30,000 in Trafalgar Square last March, "keep together unorganized militants in meaningful activity and exert a pressure on local Labor parties."

"More important," Jordan adds, "they provide a means of attracting and bringing into politics thousands of young people who have no interest in traditional British political formations.

"From these two stands, the unattached militants and the newly interested young people, can come the bulk of the new cadres to provide the hard marxist core for the mass left of the future. If this mass left can be brought into existence out of the trade union struggle against the Labor government's incomes policy we may yet break the impasse in British working class politics. We must hurry; this has to be done before Wilson does irreversible damage to the structure of the Labor movement."

What does the socialist experience in Britain mean for militants in the New Democratic Party? Like the British Labor party, the NDP is moving toward becoming the mass party of the majority of organized Canadian workers and their families. In every industrial center of Canada, the NDP has been thrusting deeper and deeper roots among those people who have to work for a living. High medical costs, poor housing, education opportunity for only a few, and living costs that skyrocket almost as fast as profits — all these facts of our daily life are helping a growing number of working people to realize that a big change is needed to make the economy run for people, not profits.

But labor-social democratic parties like the NDP usually come to power in conditions of social crisis, as did the Labor Party in Britain. There is every reason to doubt that the present NDP leaders, who do not differ in their basic outlook from the reformist BLP leadership, can be relied upon to apply the necessary changes required to break from capitalism. This, despite the necessity for the party to go beyond the limited reformist perspective of merely modifying the worst "abuses" of capitalism — the necessity for socialism.

Thus the socialists must remain in the NDP and speak up for socialism in the day to day work of the riding associations and at conventions. In the past three years, the modest forces around the Socialist Caucus have been functioning as the embryo for the formation of a left wing, issuing bulletins and formulating an alternative socialist program for the party.

Socialists in Canada can learn some valuable lessons from the British experience — lessons which, if applied early enough, should help us avoid the disillusionment and disarray which have plagued British socialists at this crucial conjuncture.

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#153 July 10, 1968

Editor: ROSS DOWSON

Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

2 page - Editorial

Trudeaumania Wins NDP Remains Firm

by The Editors

No one can deny that the results of the June 25 federal election are a disappointing setback for the members and supporters of the New Democratic Party. The defeat is registered in the loss of parliamentary seats — the shutout in Northern Ontario, the loss of Hamilton, T. C. Douglas' personal defeat in Burnaby-Seymour. It is registered in the overall stalemate and even decline in the party's share of the popular vote, down to 17 percent from the 18 percent in 1965. Most disappointing of all is the NDP's failure to make the anticipated breakthroughs in the Maritimes, British Columbia, urban Ontario and — most crucial — Quebec. The substantial comeback in Saskatchewan, where we picked up six seats and increased the vote 10 percent, important as that is, cannot compensate for the setback elsewhere.

For the capitalist rulers of this country, the results are reassuring. Only a year ago, the public opinion polls placed the standing of their parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, at their lowest levels since the Second World War, with 28 percent of the voters prepared to vote NDP, as against 25 percent for the Conservatives and 37 percent Liberal. Now, for the first time since 1962, they have achieved a majority government. Unlike its Pearson predecessors, the Trudeau cabinet will be less subject to the embarrassing inhibitions of parliamentary opposition and procedures which are increasingly difficult to reconcile with the requirements of modern monopoly capitalist rule.

Personality Contest

And they got all this without dealing with the issues. The election of new leaders in both capitalist parties set the stage for the campaign theme they wanted — a "contest" between two "personalities" — and the media and hired flunkies of this rotten system played it for all it was worth.

To their credit, the NDP spokesmen moved into the vacuum, and spoke up on all the major issues — Vietnam, foreign control, the status of French Canada, housing, prices, taxation, etc. In this, as we have pointed out previously, the NDP campaign marked a qualitative step forward for the movement. No longer did the party bend its major effort toward catering to the sedulously fostered prejudices and "good will" of the old line parties. This election, it was clear to anyone who cared to see, the NDP was the party of the working people of

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NDP Blocked

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Canada. Even the Montreal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), for all its long history of rivalry with the NDP's labor sponsors, the Canadian Labor Congress, had to recognize this when it took the unprecedented step of endorsing the NDP campaign.

But if the NDP spoke on the issues, it is no less true that it failed to present a clear alternative program. When T. C. Douglas spoke of the housing crisis, he presented the only solution — massive public housing — as just one possible measure among others. When he and other party spokesmen promised to readjust the scandalously inequitable tax system by implementing the Carter report, scarcely any of his listeners knew exactly what that meant. (Since it came from the government, we might even be forgiven a certain scepticism about the report's recommendations.)

When the NDP spoke out against American imperialist domination of the Canadian economy, its spokesmen went no further than proposals to implement another government study, the infamous Watkins report, which rejected out of hand the whole idea of public ownership of the monopolies which exploit this country! The NDP program inveighed with great justice against skyrocketting prices, but never once suggested that the projected prices review board should have the power to open the books of the profit-gloated corporations, to expose the real source of inflation. The NDP leaders went much further than ever before to expose Canadian capitalist complicity in the dirty war in Vietnam; but they failed to extend their disavowal of imperialism's interests in south-east Asia to take in clear-cut opposition to NATO and the whole system of aggressive military alliances which forms the cornerstone of Canada's foreign policy.

And on the one issue which even the capitalist politicians demagogically tried to exploit, the national grievances of French Canada, the NDP's stated willingness to grant "special status" to Quebec was clouded somewhat by its failure to defend and explain to both English- and French-Canadian workers the socialist concept of self-determination, which would go far beyond the petty grasping interests of the present small-time rulers of Quebec to include the defense of the social as well as national interests of the working masses of French Canada.

Results

The results of this failure to present a real programmatic alternative, to grasp the average voter's imagination, to bring broad new layers of the working class to an awareness of the stakes and the possibilities posed by this campaign — are now before us. In spite of the superficiality of "Trudeaumania," the massive effort by the NDP's polished electoral machine, supplemented with an unprecedented boost from organized labor, came to little avail. The 17 percent of the popular vote which constitutes the NDP share is not much more than what the CCF managed to get in its heyday. It is nothing more, nothing less, than the hard core support which the NDP can already count on from the present layer of politically conscious workers in this country. Can there be a more damning indictment of the NDP's program — or absence of program?

True, it is now more than ever a working class base. A close analysis of the returns shows the NDP losses were mainly in its middle-class periphery and, in Quebec where it dropped to 170 thousand from the 242 thousand of 1965, among English-speaking voters. Even in Saskatchewan, where a ten percent increase offset losses elsewhere to maintain its average cross-country, the NDP vote was concentrated in working class areas. But the party has failed to extend the working class base it consolidated in past elections.

The results show clearly, of course, that the great mass of Canadian workers do not yet understand that their class interests lie not in the Tory-Liberal parties of big business, but along the road of independent labor political action represented by the New Democratic Party.

Part of the blame for this low level of consciousness must be placed on the NDP's campaign tactics, in particular the practice of concentrating money and effort on a program-less saturation of key ridings to the neglect of other working class areas. This famous tactic, which inevitably tends to stress the personal qualities of the individual candidate rather than educate the electorate on the character of class struggle politics, has been considerably discredited in this election, which if nothing else showed how thoroughly this opportunist approach can be swamped by the use of similar tactics by the capitalist parties with their control of the media.

But the major challenge facing the party in the days ahead — and this election shows conclusively the challenge must be met if we are to go forward — is to break from the stale old reformist program which has saddled the NDP from its birth, and re-launch the party along the road of class struggle socialism. If new faces do not take up the fight for a socialist program and leadership within the NDP, the only perspective is one of further defeats.

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Vive le Quebec Libre, LSO-LSA Rally Theme

by P. Kent

A spirit of solidarity and identity with the struggle of the people of Quebec against their oppression as a nation within Confederation, and with the French student and revolutionary forces which led the great May upsurge in France, now being suppressed by deGaulle, permeated the open session of the bi-annual convention of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. It was held on the eve of Dominion (Confederation) Day, and only a week after "Bludgeon Monday," the day of the police assault on the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day demonstrators.

The theme of the meeting, attended by some 150 persons, was "Québec Libre-l'option socialiste" — (Free Quebec—the socialist challenge). It was conducted in French with the English contributions translated via similtaneous translation equipment. Michel Mill of Montreal introduced the speakers who included Beverley Gibbs, organizer of the Vancouver Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO, George Novack of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, and the major contributor Arthur Young, editor of *La Lutte Ouvrière* and organizer of La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

National Question

George Novack commented on the new nationalism that has arisen in several advanced capitalist sectors of the world, unforseen by the great Marxist theoreticians, Marx, Engels and Lenin, and forecast only in part by Leon Trotsky. He referred to the Walloon-Flemish conflict in Belgium, the Puerto Rican struggle in the U.S., in particular to the Black revolt in the U.S. and of course to the Québecois struggle in Canada. He explained how these confronted capitalism with new difficulties — especially capitalism in the United States where the ferment was lodged in its very vitals. Not only did these corflicts gravely weaken U.S. imperialist rulers in their world-wide assault on the freedom struggles of the colonial peoples, but they add new dimensions to the working class struggles on the home front and to the fight for socialism.

Ross Dowson extended greetings from Canada's English-speaking working class who, regardless of their present degree of consciousness, are locked in common struggle with the independentist movement of the Québecois. "We have a common enemy — les trustards, les monopolistes, both U.S. and Anglo-Canadian, and their political agents in the federal government," he said. Confederation, he pointed out, at the same time as it imposed 101 years of injustice on Quebec, laid the foundations of modern capitalism across Canada, from coast to coast. This yoke will only be removed through the establishment of a socialist Canada — a free association of both nations.

photo by Mintz

ARTHUR YOUNG, chairman of the LSA/LSO and Montreal organizer of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, speaks to the convention.

Arthur Young stressed the significance of the rise of the Quebec working class movement, already lined up in struggle against the Quebec national bourgeoisie which is closely allied with and dependent on Anglo-American capital. The next big step forward must be the organization of the Quebec labor party that would give the working class a political expression on the Quebec arena. He hailed the Montreal CNTU council's endorsement of the NDP in the recent federal election contest as a significant step towards the formation of such a party. He held out the perspective that this party, reflecting a class struggle rendered more explosive by the national oppression and super-exploitation of Quebec workers, has every possibility of rejecting a reformist course and setting out in a revolutionary direction. It can be won to a program of revolutionary transitional demands which lead the working class in struggle from today's consciousness to an understanding of the need for a socialist society and to the fight to realize it. He appealed to the independentist forces, some of whom put separation as the precondition for struggle, to orient themselves to participation in the formation of this labor party.

The chairman presented two motions before the audience. One protested the police assault on the independentists who responded to Prime Minister Trudeau's provocative appearance at Quebec's national celebration, June 24, and expressed the meeting's solidarity with the hundreds who were beaten and arrested, including RIN leader Pierre Bourgault. The other resolution was a protest to the French government against the suppression of the student and revolutionary forces in France and an expression of solidarity with the struggle for a socialist France. Both resolutions were adopted with cheers and applause. A collection of over $100 was taken to be sent to Les Fonds de Solidarité contre la Répression en France.

photo by Mintz

ROSS DOWSON, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO, presents organization report.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD #153 July 10, 1968

Big Gains for LSA-LSO

by Ross Dowson

A giant stride forward for Canadian socialism, both in growth and in programmatic clarity, was marked by the bi-annua convention of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière held over the July 1 weekend.

The site of the convention, Montreal's Collège Jean de Brébeuf, the fact that it was completely bilingual and was well attended by members of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and its supporters, and that it was held one week following the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day demonstration and on the eve of Confederation Day, made it a powerful identification of the LSA/LSO with the Quebec struggle for national liberation.

There were 57 delegates who came from all the major centers across Canada and at least as many more observers in attendance at the sessions. It was a youthful and dynamic assembly. According to the statistics submitted by the credentials committee, the average age of LSA/LSO members in attendance was 24½ years — 36 percent of them women. Despite their youth, only 18 percent were students — the rest are in various areas of the

(See page 2)

photo by Stone

GEORGE NOVACK, U.S. socialist scholar, addresses open session of the LSA/LSO convention. Behind him, left to right, Arthur Young, Ross Dowson, Beverley Gibbs, Vancouver organizer of Young Socialists, and chairman Michel Mill of Montreal.

LSO-LSA GAINS

(Continued from page 1)

work force.

From the executive secretary's report, the mood of confidence that permeated the convention was well founded. The delegates to the previous convention two years ago in Toronto assembled after having reached the highest goal that they had ever set to finance their publications program — $5,000. This convention met two years later in the knowledge that it had succeeded in raising $12,500 for the publication of *La Lutte Ouvrière* and *The Vanguard*, which has been appearing as a twice monthly since October of last year. Since 1966, the forces of Canadian Trotskyism have increased by 60 percent.

In the course of a three day jam-packed schedule, the convention showed that the growth of the LSA/LSO was built on firm programmatic foundations. The convention even more firmly strengthened the ideological bases of the movement.

There were four major documents before the convention. The convention itself was preceded by almost three months of intensive discussions which saw the publication of eight internal bulletins. Aside from the allocation of time for the discussion of the major documents, there were five panel discussions. They were on: NDP, trade unions, anti-war, women and press.

Perhaps the most significant of the major resolutions was the one on Quebec. It was the culmination of an intense discussion that had been unfolding both in previous conventions and in the internal life of the movement for over four years. This resolution, with only a few minor additions, and three abstentions, was adopted unanimously by the delegates.

The delegates also had before them a Political Resolution with a supplementary one entitled Canada-U.S. Relations, and a resolution outlining The Organizational Concepts of the LSA/LSO. The Political Resolution portrayed the dynamics of the forces in Canadian society, within the context of world capitalist society, leading to the victory of socialism. It focussed particular attention on the role of the NDP and the trade unions, their reformist program and leadership.

"While independent of the NDP," it states, "the LSA/LSO is an integral part of the NDP. It is an organization of socialists who firmly support the NDP and thus form part of the broad range of working class forces which the NDP, as the political expression of the labor movement, encompasses." While "the NDP is the present of the labor movement, the expression of the present general level of development and experiences of the Canadian working class," it continues "the LSA/LSO is the future of the working class, fighting to win the NDP to a class struggle policy and a socialist perspective, in Quebec promoting a labor party formation with a revolutionary dynamic. . . It is the nucleus of the vanguard party designed to overcome the heterogeneity of the working class and to realize the high degree of consciousness and organization necessary to triumph over the capitalist class."

The Canada-U.S. Relations document and Organizational Concepts of the LSA/LSO were the subject of extensive discussion and debate. After their adoption, in order to fully clarify the nature of the decision, votes were called on two other submissions and they were defeated.

A strong broadly representative cross-Canada central committee was elected. Ross Dowson was re-elected as executive secretary and Arthur Young, organizer of La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, was elected as chairman. The honorary chairman of the convention was Alain Krivine, leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutioniare, which played a leading role in the French events of May.

THE MILITANT VANGUARD #154
July 29, 1968

Trotskyists Play Vital Role in French Revolt

The massive general strike which shook France in May, closing down virtually all industry, was largely spontaneous and unforeseen by most people. Because it was without leadership, the strike wave was eventually dissipated, and President de Gaulle was able to recover the initiative and achieve a certain stabilization of his regime which for two or three weeks had hovered on the brink of collapse.

In contrast to the labor movement, the student movement which had sparked the original demonstrations and factory occupations that launched the general strike, was not without leaders. In North America, where the press deliberately played down the French events, we were informed hardly at all about the revolutionary youth groups involved. But in Europe, and particularly Britain, the press took a quite different approach to the revolutionary developments across the Channel.

The British accounts were unanimous in acknowledging the leading role of the Trotskyist youth of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR — Revolutionary Communist Youth). The JCR originated in 1965, when a split in the Union des Etudiants Communistes (the Union of Communist Students) resulted in the expulsion of a revolutionary socialist wing which had refused to support the candidacy of Francois Mitterand, a petty-bourgeois left politician backed by the Communist Party, in the French presidential elections. The JCR is associated with the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Party), French sections of the Fourth International. Both the JCR and the PCI have been "banned" by de Gaulle.

The May 19 issue of the London *Observer*, which credited the JCR with having "provided the chief inspiration and political direction of the insurrection," described its influence:

"In France, they are estimated to have some 1,000 hard-core members spread over 30 cities. In Paris, scratch any one of the proliferating Sorbonne committees and you find their man. Their directing hand is at work in the March 22 Movement, the May Movement, and also in the CAL (Comités d'Action Lycéen), the secondary-school action committees, which are leading the attack on the baccalaureate (the outmoded and upper-class-biased university entrance certificate) — and which, if successful, could plunge France into a crisis even graver than the university revolution."

The Observer of June 16 concluded that "the Trotskyists played the most vital part in sparking off the revolution and provided the most coherent analysis of it. . . The Communists thought they had buried Trotsky. Now, to their horror, he stalks again."

The JCR has extensive contacts with the student movement throughout Europe. Writing in the June 7 London *Sun*, Malcolm Southan reported: "It would be too crude to claim that the Trotskyist Fourth International — the 30-year-old revolutionary organization which has headquarters in Paris — is behind the present European student unrest.

"But everywhere I have been in Europe their influence has been obvious."

Le Nouvel Observateur, a widely-read Paris weekly, carried an article June 19 describing the various left-wing youth groups and their attitude during the May crisis. Katia D. Kaupp tells of the JCR's role:

"A meeting — and posters in all the corridors everywhere, to inform people of it. Everybody agrees: *'The JCR is doing a fantastic job at the Sorbonne.'* The Guizot auditorium has been full every evening. There the JCR would conduct a 'course' in history or current events, rather similar to the education the students would like in their colleges. These sessions were always followed by enthusiastic discussion, and the enthusiasm was contagious."

At present the upsurge has subsided; de Gaulle has won time; the revolutionary groups are fighting the ban. But reports from Paris indicate that the lull is only temporary, that everyone expects a new upsurge soon, probably this fall. Joseph Barry writes from Paris in the July 4 issue of *The Village Voice* of New York:

"Will there be barricades this fall? De Gaulle had a (parliamentary) majority in May, and parliament was beside the point. A stronger majority could mean greater tension, a conflict of different powers. The crisis continues. If anything, it worsens. . .

"There is a new beat in the Latin Quarter meetings to a kind of syncopated tune: 'It's only the beginning. Let's continue to fight!' But you hear it too in the factory suburbs, 'Wait until fall!' The workers are edgy. You don't read about it in the papers, but there are work stoppages at the drop of what they consider a disregard, a disrespect, a violation of the human condition."

A new upsurge is inevitable. And when it comes, it is certain that the Trotskyists of the JCR and the PCI will once again be in the lead — this time, with significantly greater forces.

Campaign for End to Ban

The French revolutionary organizations banned by the de Gaulle regime are continuing their struggle to regain their rights. They are fighting for the right to exist and to function — to speak, hold meetings, to publish newspapers — without the threat of arrest which now hangs over them.

The campaign of international solidarity with the banned groups has already won support from wide circles, including NDP leaders David Lewis, Andrew Brewin, Laurier LaPierre, and Robert Cliche, and prominent trade union figures such as Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor.

An international solidarity fund has been set up in Belguim to make it possible for the French revolutionists to carry on their fight against the ban. Its secretary is Emil Van Ceulen, a veteran leader of the Belgian labor movement. He asks that cheques be made out to Emil Van Ceulen, and sent to him, care of Fonds de Solidarité contre la Répression en France, 111 Avenue Seghers, Brussels 8, Belgium.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#154 - July 29, 1968

Editor: ROSS DOWSON

Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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The 'Public Interest'

by The Editors

Some hoary old myths about workers in the civil service were resurrected by Prime Minister Trudeau the other day when he tried to justify his government's refusal to meet the postal workers' wage demands.

According to the P.M., the postal workers aren't really bargaining with the government — their real target is the public. And not just the public, but the "poor, unprotected or unorganized part of the public." Any wage grant in what Trudeau chooses to call the "public service" must be met by tax increases — and the poor are taxed most heavily. Moreover, any increases to government employees are bound to set up "inflationary trends" throughout the whole economy. Thus the postal workers, and the tens of thousands of other newly-organized government employees who will follow them, have a moral responsibility to scale down their demands, if not withdraw them altogether. At least that's Trudeau's view.

We might be cynical and ask, since when did a big business politician like "let's end all this free stuff" Trudeau become a defender of the "poor" and "unprotected"?

Motives aside, however, how does Trudeau's logic stand up to the facts?

In the first place, it's just not true that wage increases anywhere — in the public or private sector — are the source of "inflation." Since World War II, the labor share of the national income has scarcely altered; in fact, during the 1950's, wages tended to fall behind rises in the cost of living — a tendency which the workers are now trying to halt and reverse. The real source of inflationary trends is shown in some other figures, provided by Mr. Trudeau's government. According to a Department of Labor study, "The Behavior of Canadian Wages and Salaries in the Post-War Period," real wages (adjusted for rises in the cost of living) have risen by about 50 percent since 1949, but in the same period productivity per man-hour has risen by over 20 percent faster, while *since 1961* profits have *doubled*.

Thus Trudeau was talking nonsense when he went on to absolve Big Business of responsibility for price inflation with the claim that, in contrast to the "public sector," wage increases in the private sector are provided solely out of profits ("transferring resources from the shareholders to the workers.") The transfer works the other way.

If Trudeau was really serious about fighting high prices, he would move against the profiteers and price-gougers of private business, and not the postal workers and other government employees. A first step would be to open the books of the giant corporations to shed further light on the real source of inflation.

The prime minister obscures the issue further when he puts the blame for high taxes on . . . the government employees. First, his charge couldn't possibly apply to the post office, which operates on the principle of a self-sustaining business. Secondly, it is not civil servants but the government itself which bears full responsibility for the scandalously inequitable tax system that puts the principal burden on the more disadvantaged sections of the population, while allowing business interests enormous tax-free write-offs.

And who is Trudeau kidding when he drags out that old chestnut about strikes against the government hurting the "public interest"—that the "public" is some "third party" in any such dispute? Who is the "public" if it's not the vast majority of the population, the working people of this country? And they are the last ones to want to maintain the existence of low-wage sectors with sub-standard working conditions such as those which have long prevailed among government workers. Only the bosses benefit from low-wage cesspools.

Equally fallacious is Trudeau's assertion that civil servants do not confront interests opposed to their own, as is the case in private industry. The fact is, this government does not represent working people in its contract negotiations any more than it represents us in its complicity with U.S. aggression in Vietnam. If it *did* represent us, it could easily resolve the situation — by granting the workers' demands. Revenues could be raised by shifting the tax burden onto the corporations, and nationalizing the latter if necessary. Only then would the government be acting in the "public interest" it claims to represent.

If the bosses take advantage of wage gains to raise prices, or the government increases the tax burden on low-income layers, this can hardly be blamed on the workers concerned, who have no control over either the corporations or the government. All they can do is organize to fight as best they can to keep abreast of skyrocketing prices and taxes. Which is exactly what the postal workers are doing. *They* are hardly likely to be taken in by Trudeau's cynical blustering.

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#154

Members Discuss the Election

Which Way for the NDP?

by Anne Macdonald

A re-orientation of the New Democratic Party around a clear socialist alternative to the big business parties, and a consistent, year-round educational program and active participation of the party in immediate social issues — that's what's needed if the NDP is to advance beyond the stalemated status of an electoral machine which sees its main function as a left "conscience" or goad to the ruling parties.

This was the general conclusion reached by a panel on the recent federal election which met July 18 in Toronto. The panel was sponsored by Toronto supporters of the Socialist Caucus, an organization of NDP activists across Canada who advocate a socialist program for the NDP. Four candidates — Bob Wright (Welland), Dan Heap (Spadina), Gordon Vichert (Hamilton-Wentworth), and Jack Grant (York North) — were present, three of them on the panel. The fourth panelist, Stu Sinclair, represented the Caucus.

All candidates agreed that "Trudeaumania" had swept the middle class vote from under the feet of the NDP. However, the labor vote stood firm.

Robert Wright noted that in his riding, Welland, where the NDP got 33 percent of the votes, the Tories lined up openly behind the Liberal, calling on their supporters to vote for him. Gordon Vichert, explaining why the NDP nevertheless failed to gain more fully from this obvious polarization in the vote, said that in his view, "The NDP did not capture the people's imagination." The "reformist" answers to the issues were not convincing enough, and failed to make the voter feel that the NDP represented a relevant alternative.

Dan Heap, a well-known anti-war activist who had emphasized the NDP's opposition to the Vietnam war in his campaign, noted that when the NDP referred to the Carter report on taxation or the Watkins report on foreign ownership, party spokesmen failed to go beyond the very limited recommendations of those government-sponsored studies. Here, too, the NDP did not emerge as a meaningful and necessary alternative.

Stu Sinclair said that as a trade unionist, he thought this campaign had been the best for the NDP. The party had "faced squarely to the working class," talking as never before on issues of immediate concern to working people. And secondary leadership and militants in the ranks had responded to a greater extent.

But he agreed with the condidates that the answers to the issues had often been inadequate. Sinclair said that socialists in the party had a big responsibility in the next period to intervene, not only at the local riding level, but at conventions and in the unions, to educate the party membership and re-orient the leadership — the whole party — toward a radical program capable of consolidating and extending the strong working class roots which already exist.

Dan Heap had told how the Liberal machine in Spadina riding capitalized on its massive "Tammany Hall" patronage system. Similarly, Sinclair commented, the NDP should become more involved in community life in the period between elections. An electoral machine was necessary, but not enough; a key mobilizing opportunity would be participation under the party label in municipal elections, to crack the old-line party machines at their roots.

He concluded by calling on everyone who shared this perspective to support the Socialist Caucus and participate in its work.

The small but spirited audience continued the discussion from the floor, and went on to elect Regula Modlich, secretary of St. George's riding association, as the new chairman of the Caucus.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#155 - Aug. 12, 1968

Czechs Publicize Trotskyist Views

A new magazine in Prague, *Informacni Materialy* (Informational Materials) has published extensive sections of the manifesto "For a Government of Workers Councils in Czechoslovakia" issued by the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.

Those sections directly critical of the Kremlin were omitted, but the proposals for the establishment and consolidation of proletarian democracy in Czechoslovakia were printed in full in the June 24 issue. An editorial note explains:

"The French section of the Fourth International (the Internationalist Communist Party), which was so greatly damned in our country in the past, has been undergoing a renaissance for some years now. This was especially evident in these last weeks marked by revolutionary events in Paris and throughout France.

"It is our judgment that no ideology or concept, and particularly no socialist concept, can be rejected except through dialogue with its proponents. And this presupposes an elementary knowledge of their ideas."

After a disclaimer that "we by no means identify with all these (anti-Stalinist) tendencies which have formed in recent years . . . in an effort to find the answers to the fundamental problems of socialism and which are struggling to achieve the tasks of socialism . . ." the editors add,

"However, we must take cognizance of their views . . . and try,

(See page 2)

Manifesto

(Continued from page 1)

with the help of our own rich experience in integrating all concepts and programs, to create a powerful ideological and practical school that can make possible the achievement of socialism and socialist man."

The Czechoslovak magazine includes an account from Paris of the French revolt, castigating the "retrograde petty-bourgeois nationalism" of the French CP, which it contrasts with the socialist internationalism of the revolutionary youth. The author, Henri Cigan, describes the anti-Stalinist views of the student leaders, explaining in detail the young revolutionists' concept of Soviet democracy as both the goal and a means of fighting for socialism. "In all the European capitalist countries," he points out, "currents are developing which in practice stand to the left of the traditional Communist parties."

Informacni Materialy also carries a translation of an interview with German student leader Rudi Dutschke which deals with the meaning of the Czech de-Stalinization for the young socialists in the capitalist countries; a discussion of the 16-point thesis on the "cultural revolution" of the Chinese Communist Party; Zbynek Fiser's article on workers councils published in this issue of the *Vanguard;* and a favorable review of the "Open Letter" by the young Polish revolutionists Kuron and Modzelewski. A major programmatic statement of the Polish revolutionary Marxist students, the "Open Letter" has just been published by the student council of the University of Prague.

Czechs Resisting Invasion

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 24 (156) August 26, 1968 Toronto — 10 Cents

Hungary, 1956 . . . Czechoslovakia, 1968?

by the Editors

Socialists, anti-war activists and all those who defend the right of nations to self-determination, must condemn in the strongest possible terms the brutal invasion of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic by troops of the USSR and its four East European allies.

The invasion is shameful proof of how much the ruling bureaucrats of the Kremlin fear the specter of political revolution raised by the powerful democratization process in Czechoslovakia. Unable to tolerate this profound break with Stalinism, and the contagious effects it could have in the Soviet Union itself, the bureaucracy has replied in the only language it knows — the language of brute force. The twelve eventful years since the bloody suppression of the Hungarian people's attempt to establish rule by democrtic workers' councils, have in no way lessened the bureaucracy's readiness to drown in blood if necessary the Czechoslovak people's desires for socialist democracy.

There is no truth whatsoever, of course, in the Kremlin's claim that it was invited to intervene by the Czechoslovak Communist party or any representative body. There is still less truth in its charge that "anti-socialist forces" in that country were threatening to assume the initiative. Throughout their long campaign of slander, intimidation, threats and pressures against the anti-Stalinist movement in Czechoslovakia, Moscow and its allies have been utterly unable to point to even one serious instance of anti-Soviet activity there. The real "anti-socialist force" is the Kremlin bureaucracy and its counter-revolutionary violation of the Czech people's right of self-determination.

The Western capitalist states have no interest in intervening on the side of socialist democratization. Capitalist politicians show no favor for a process that threatened, in their view, to prove that nationalized property is compatible with democratic rule. Significantly, External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp has expressed "disappointment" at the invasion — as a "setback . . . toward an East-West détente" — but offered no concern for the fate of the Czechoslovak people. Supporters of aggression in Vietnam are unable to challenge the USSR's right to do what it wants in what they accept as its own sphere of influence in east Europe.

Nor have the Czechoslovak people any reason to invite Western intervention. Quite the contrary — no serious pro-capitalist tendency has appeared amidst the ferment of democratization.

Only hours after the first announcement of the Soviet invasion, the capitalist press was already writing off the Czech reform program, and relegating that country to the Stalinist orbit. But the response of the Czechoslovakians to this violation of their deepest aspirations has not yet been heard. As we go to press, the radio reports that machine gun fire has opened up in Prague, that the people "are prepared to stop Soviet tanks with their bodies." There is no certainty that the people will heed the Dubcek leadership's call "not to resist" the Kremlin aggression and "to go normally to work." If the workers seize arms and open up a general counter-offensive for socialism, the conditions are much more favorable than they were in 1956 for a sympathetic response from the Warsaw pact soldiers and the people of the other East European countries.

Whether or not a second front is opened elsewhere in the workers' states, it can be said that Moscow's intervention in Czechoslovakia has not in any way resolved the deepening crisis of the world Communist movement. In particular, the new revolutionary vanguard that is regrouping around the world will be sure to draw appropriate lessons from this fresh and shocking example of the essentially counter-revolutionary character of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Hands Off Czechoslovakia!

Defend Socialist Democracy in the Workers States!

Withdraw Soviet and Allied Troops!

SUPPORT WORKERS DEMOCRACY. John Steele of the League for Socialist Action addresses rally at Vancouver Court House in solidarity with Czechoslovakian struggle for socialist democracy.

Workers' Vanguard #156 - Aug. 26, 1968

from the critics corner

SOLDIERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL, a History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919-1929, by William Rodney, University of Toronto Press, $7.50. Obtainable at Vanguard Bookstores.

The new generation of radical youth coming to the banner of revolutionary socialism will find this book of inestimable value in arriving at a correct understanding of the origins and development of their own struggles. It covers the great pioneer or formative period of revolutionary socialism in this country and thus provides essential material for an understanding of where we come from and where we are going.

Who were our predecessors, what were their names, what manner of men and women were they, what inspired them, what problems confronted them and what solutions did they find?

For the first time we possess a work that gives an essentially accurate idea of all this. It is a scholarly work, the fruit of tremendous, diligent and honest research. That the author, an associate professor of history at Royal Roads Military College, Victoria, has little understanding or sympathy with the ideas and heroic efforts of the chief protagonists of the drama he sketches, makes his work all the more remarkable.

Based on a serious examination of most if not all the key material, backed up by interviews with such widely divergent personalities as Maurice Spector, expelled for Trotskyism in 1928, and Stewart Smith, chief Stalinist mouthpiece who left the CP following Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes almost 30 years later, it gives a picture which, if not a completely rounded one, is essentially accurate. In fact, possibly due to the particular position the author holds, it contains material from sources which would not be available to other researchers on this theme.

The author attributes "the failure" of the Communist Party to its Marxist theory, although the story that he relates ends with the expulsion from the party of its Marxist leadership: its founding secretary Jack MacDonald and its leading (Marxist) theoretician, its chairman and the editor of its press, Maurice Spector.

A continuing theme throughout the book is that "the Russian connection," if not at every point, was overall a harmful, even fatal influence on the youthful party. However it is obvious, even from the material provided by the author, that the influence of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International for a whole period, even if on occasion it was mistaken, was an honest one and had very positive benefits for the pioneering revolutionary socialists. It was instrumental in bringing about a needed unity of forces. It encouraged the formation of an open party and an open press, against the "undergrounders" who included Tim Buck in their ranks, and gave valuable advice on mass work, on the political arena through the Labor party formations, and on the trade union plane through the Trade Union Educational League.

It is true that the fate of the CP was ultimately determined, not on strictly Canadian issues but on the international arena, by the Comintern. But that was only after the victory of the bureaucracy that grew up on the isolated Russian workers state, headed by Stalin, over the Marxist-Leninist opposition led by Leon Trotsky, both in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Third International.

As a pioneer effort in this complex field, it is inevitable that this book should contain some errors. One instance is Rodney's acceptance of the idea that Jack MacDonald at the time of his expulsion was an adherent of the views of the U.S. CP leader Jay Lovestone and the Soviet theoretician N. Bukharin. This has been seduously fostered by such Stalinized concoctions as Tim Buck's *Thirty Years, 1922-1952*, and Leslie Morris' *The Story of Tim Buck's Party 1922-1939*, perhaps to smear MacDonald by association with the shameless renegade that Lovestone degenerated into, or to cover over the damaging fact that the two founding leaders of the CPS clearly saw Trotsky as upholding the banner to which they had first rallied.

Maurice Spector, in a lengthy interview with this writer in the Spring of 1962, categorically denied that MacDonald had ever been a supporter of Lovestone's "American exceptionalism." He recalled no evidence of any kind, either documentary or spoken.

The expulsion of MacDonald, says Rodney, "marked the end of an era in the history of the Communist Party of Canada." With that maneuver the leadership was turned over to Tim Buck and Stewart Smith who rapidly Stalinized the small and inexperienced forces. But the efforts to establish a socialist Canada and to build an instrument capable of leading the struggle for its realization, commenced 10 years earlier by Jack MacDonald, Maurice Spector, Max Armstrong, Jack Kavanaugh, the Buhays, Florence Custance, etc., didn't end in 1929.

Rodney has Spector and MacDonald joining forces to carry on the struggle (in 1931 they launched the *Vanguard*), but he has it end in failure and Spector's emigration to New York in 1936. Spector became inactive, but MacDonald continued to participate with new forces in the work that he had initiated. While Stalinism destroyed invaluable forces, subsequent experiences brought not only Jack Kavanaugh over to Trotskyism but Max Armstrong, Malcolm Bruce, and others.

Thus the story that Rodney relates proves conclusively not to be so much historical minutiae or merely a series of interesting anecdotes as he tends to leave it, but a vital episode in the advancing struggle towards a socialist Canada. This is a book that no serious socialist can afford to be without.

by R.D.

#156

MAURICE SPECTOR (1898-1968)

Pioneer Canadian Socialist

by Ross Dowson

In New York City, on August 1, Maurice Spector died of cancer. He was 70 years old. His name is not now known by many but it already has an imperishable place and is certain to have a pre-eminent one when the true history of the working class struggles in Canada and indeed the rest of the world is written.

Maurice Spector was a founding leader of the Communist Party of Canada, and when that party succumbed to Stalinism he became the pioneer of its continuator, the Trotskyist movement, organized today in the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Further, he played a key role at a crucial period in the international socialist movement by helping to make available to the world the ideas of Leon Trotsky and the Russian Left Opposition, whose efforts to uphold the principles of proletarian democracy and international socialism were being foully maligned and murderously crushed by the bureaucratic forces that had fastened themselves on the first workers state in the USSR.

As the early Communist Party's outstanding theoretician, orator and publicist, Spector accompanied the party's founding secretary Jack MacDonald to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928. There he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Comintern — the first Canadian to achieve that position. As a member of the program commission, he and James P. Cannon, a leader of the Communist Party of the United States, accidently secured a copy of Leon Trotsky's *Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International*. Trotsky had already been expelled from the CPSU and this document was kept from most of the delegates. Aware of the great significance of Trotsky's views, Spector and Cannon decided to smuggle the document out of the Soviet Union and conduct a common struggle for its ideas in their respective parties.

Shortly after returning to America, they and their first handful of supporters were expelled without debate. At first they functioned as a left opposition attempting to reform the Communist party. In 1934, following the destruction of the German CP without any serious resistance, they began, in alliance with widening forces around the world, to rebuild the revolutionary socialist movement from scratch.

Spector's identity with Trotsky's struggle was by no means accidental. He was always profoundly worldwide in his outlook. While at high school he developed an intense interest in socialism. He quickly found his way to those socialists in the Toronto area who adhered to an internationalist position and opposed World War I. The news of the Russian Revolution was having a stirring effect on an important group of socialists with whom in 1920 he helped found the Plebs League of Ontario. Despite his youth he was on the executive and quickly became known as a leading speaker.

With the encouragement of the Comintern, the Plebs League, together with the Toronto Workers Educational College headed by Jack MacDonald, and some Ukrainian and Finnish language organizations, formed the main forces that came together in Guelph in 1921 to found the Communist Party of Canada. While only 23 years of age Spector was elected to the executive committee and appointed to a three-man press committee. He edited the first issue of the party's underground paper, *The Communist*. With the emergence of the open Workers Party the following year, he was made the party's chairman and attended the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International as its delegate.

While the horizon of the majority of his comrades tended to be limited to the immediate tasks at hand, Spector always retained an intense interest in the revolution unfolding across the globe. In 1923, at the height of a revolutionary rebirth in Germany, Spector decided that an experience there would be of great value to the Canadian movement when the revolutionary wave advanced to North America.

Spector's experience in Germany led him to anticipate the identical

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PIONEERS. Photo taken in 1920's shows Maurice Spector, right, conferring with other founding leaders of the Communist Party. From left, William Moriarty, Tim Buck, and Jack MacDonald.

thesis as to the cause of the defeat that was put forward by Trotsky in his introduction to *Lessons of October*.

Before returning to Canada in the spring of 1924, Spector went to Moscow to attend the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets where he became acquainted to some degree with the struggle that had been raging in the CPSU. Spector's acquaintance with some of the issues at stake and his authority amongst his comrades resulted in the Canadian party being the only one in the world to oppose the attacks being made on Trotsky and the Left Opposition. When its delegate to the Fifth plenum of the ECCI asked for instructions as to the position he should take on the question of Trotskyism, the Canadian central executive committee wired its opposition to the attacks on Trotsky.

When Tim Buck at the Seventh plenum of the ECCI committed the Canadian party to Stalin, to a policy of denunciation of the Left Opposition, Spector offered to resign. But with the support of MacDonald he retained his position as party chairman and editor of *The Worker*.

Soon after the New Year, 1926, Spector had an opportunity to attend a plenum of the U.S. party where he learned of James P. Cannon's uneasiness about events in the USSR. He singled him out to express his support of Trotsky. They parted with no commitments as to what to do but with a certain bond of understanding. Their unity was cemented when, at the Sixth Congress, they were able to acquaint themselves with Trotsky's rounded view.

The instant expulsion of Cannon and his supporters from the U.S. party was used to force a sudden showdown with Spector who was summarily expelled. Immediately a massive campaign was launched to isolate him but Spector responded with an aggressive campaign of a public character. Within a short while the former chairman of the party and its leading theoretician was joined by its founding national secretary. Together Spector and MacDonald commenced the colossal task of rebuilding the movement.

In 1936 Spector went to New York to participate more closely with the leaders of the American Trotskyist movement. The constant harassment and the enormous difficulties of the work, together with the monstrous murder of the entire Bolshevik leadership through the Moscow frame-up trials, disheartened him and he quietly withdrew from political activity.

Although Spector left its ranks over thirty years ago, his contribution to the development, the defence and the regeneration of revolutionary Marxism was a monumental one.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#157 – September 9, 1968

GO HOME! Prague citizens let tank driver know how they feel about occupation. Czechoslovakians effectively proselytized occupation forces on the progressive character of their demands for socialist democracy and the reactionary character of efforts to repress them.

Soviet Occupation Meets Stiff Czech Resistance

The Kremlin has suffered a major political disaster in Czechoslovakia which is certain to have far-reaching consequences throughout the workers states of Eastern Europe, including the USSR itself. This is true no matter what concessions were wrung from the Czechoslovak leaders while they were held under duress and threat of execution in Moscow.

The Moscow "agreement" provides for the continued occupation of Czechoslovakia until the situation "normalizes" to the satisfaction of the Kremlin bureaucrats. According to press reports, the "normalization" would include a return to press and radio censorship, long-term stationing of Soviet troops on the West German frontier after the departure of the present occupation forces, and the dissolution of any group and halting of any activity which the occupying powers considered "anti-socialist."

Some of these measures, such as reimposition of censorship, are already being implemented. But the National Assembly spoke for the people of Czechoslovakia when it voted Aug. 28 to reject the agreement, echoing the Communist party's earlier characterization of the invasion and occupation by Soviet and other Warsaw Pact countries as illegal.

There is, of course, no way to estimate the extent to which the Czech leadership intend to carry out the provisions of an "agreement" literally signed at the point of a gun. (Stanislav Budin, editor of the *Reporter*, organ of the Czechoslovak journalists' union, related that Dubcek, Cernik and Smrkovsky, "were kept standing for several hours, under the threat of machine guns, faces turned to the wall . . ." before being taken away.) Even before the invasion, under the pressure of secret agreements forced on them at Cierna and Bratislava, they had moved to restrict the rights of free speech and free press won earlier this year.

But the Kremlin's retreat is of major significance. When Soviet troops entered the country Aug. 20-21, it was claimed they were there to fight "counter-revolution" backed by German and U.S. imperialism with the connivance of Dubcek and other top leaders of the Czechoslovakian CP. A few days later, the same "counter-revolutionary" leaders — hardly Moscow's first choices to head a puppet government in Czechoslovakia — were sent back by Brezhnev and Kosygin to straighten things out. Despite Soviet claims that its troops were "invited" in by unnamed Czech government officials, no Kremlin supporter of any stature would volunteer for the task.

The deciding factor in Czechoslovakia was not the military strategy of the Soviet bureaucracy, but the courageous political resistance of the Czechoslovak people. Within hours after the first Warsaw Pact troops entered the country, clandestine radio stations were broadcasting from various points, not only reporting the news but giving effective direction to the struggle in the enforced absence of the party and government leaders. Underground newspapers appeared, including *Rude Pravo*, the official Czech CP paper, which published appeals to the occupying troops in their respective languages. A one-hour general strike called by the party on the second day of the occupation was followed each day thereafter by 15-minute work stoppages, and many plants shut down completely.

Most important was the fraternization of the Russian-speaking young people with the Soviet troops. They explained to the soldiers what the real situation was in Czechoslovakia, appealing to them to go home and fight for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. These powerful political appeals echoed the deepest feelings of the Soviet troops themselves. Their effectiveness can be judged by press reports on Aug. 27 that Moscow found it necessary to fly at least 200 secret police to Prague to deal "mainly with problems within the Soviet military." The Kremlin may be suddenly concerned lest its half million missionaries with bayonets prove unduly receptive to conversion into counter-missionaries.

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Editor: ROSS DOWSON

Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

What the Czech Workers Accomplished

There was an element of tragedy in the argument of those such as Fidel Castro who, while admitting that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was a "flagrant violation" of the country's national sovereignty, echoed the Kremlin claim that it was justified politically because of the danger of capitalist restoration.

In the first place, not even the Kremlin believed its own charge. Not only has it restored the "counter-revolutionary" leaders to power; its renewed press attacks against "reactionary" elements are centered on publications like *Literarni Listy*, which has been in the forefront of the movement for socialist democracy. The logic of this movement was not toward capitalism, but toward political revolution against bureaucratic misrule and for the establishment of real workers' democracy. This is what the Soviet bureaucrats feared and moved to stop at all costs. When faced with a real threat from imperialism the bureaucrats move much slower and are far more conciliatory, as witness the Soviet attitude toward American aggression in Vietnam. It is only when their privileges are threatened by the working class that they know how to be ruthless.

Secondly, the supporters of the occupation completely write off the Czechoslovak working class when they imply, as they must, that the Czechoslovak people were incapable of suppressing on their own initiative any right wing tendencies which might threaten the existence of nationalized property and other conquests of their workers state.

The Czechoslovaks have provided a stunning refutation of this slander with their determined, self-confident response to Moscow's bullying. The Russian soldiers were "harangued into a near state of shock," as one report put it, by angry citizens explaining the meaning of their anti-Stalinist revolt. Thinking they had been sent to suppress a counter-revolution, many soldiers came to realize that in fact they were in Czechoslovakia to put down a developing revolution for socialist democracy.

The Kremlin invasion reaffirms the bureaucracy's fundamental hostility to all genuine currents for workers democracy in the workers states. In this, Moscow simply repeats its attempts to stifle such movements in East Germany in 1953 and in Hungary in 1956. But what is new in the Czechoslovakian events is that for the first time, the Kremlin's military dominance has received a crushing setback, not by force of arms but by far stronger weapons — the confident solidarity of a people determined to die if necessary to show that socialism does not mean Stalinism, but the fullest expression of democracy. As over a million Czechoslovaks put it in a petition to the party leaders on the eve of the Cierna-Bratislava talks, "The moment has come when we can prove to the world that socialism is the only true alternative for all civilized mankind."

Whatever setbacks lie ahead in the immediate future as a result of Moscow's military blackmail, the overriding success of the Czech resistance guarantees an early upsurge of the struggle for political democracy, not just in Czechoslovakia, but in the other workers states, including the Soviet Union. The Kremlin bureaucrats and their allies in Eastern Europe are learning the same lesson the U.S. imperialists have been taught in Vietnam — that in the long run brute force cannot triumph over an idea whose time has come.

Another Case of Canadian Hypocrisy

Capitalist statesmen leaped at the Soviet invasion as a rare opportunity to turn world attention away from their deepening predicament in Vietnam. But there was little in the Czechoslovak events that the practitioners of genocide in Asia could turn to their advantage.

LBJ's denunciation of Moscow's tactics was so hypocritical that even two leading contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination were moved to expose it. Canada stepped in to try to make some capital out of the situation at the United Nations. Here, too, the motives were patent. Robert Reguly of the Toronto *Star* explained Canada's maneuver: "The U.S., smarting from Vietnam criticism, wants to keep the debate going because it is a long-awaited moral opportunity to heap scorn on Russia. 'That,' remarked one western UN delegate, 'is the main purpose of the exercise.'"

External Affairs Minister Sharp's "disappointed" concern for the Czechoslovaks' fate is suspect on other grounds. What gall it takes for Canada, one of the founders of NATO, which has surrounded the workers states with provocative nuclear weaponry, to condemn the Soviet military presence in Czechoslovakia!

The fact is, the nature of the Czechoslovaks' resistance offered little comfort to demagogic politicians of western-style "freedom." The *Globe and Mail's* financial columnist reluctantly concluded that there was little "the West" could do to aid Czechoslovakia because any such effort "requires, first of all, that the Western nations give up any lingering belief that communism, as a socio-economic system, must be replaced by what the West calls capitalism. The Czechs themselves, with what now are rare exceptions, do not appear to want that."

For the Canadian government, the conclusion was obvious. As Trudeau put it, "If the Iron Curtain countries are having troubles at home let them stew in their own brew."

#158

Liberal MLA in Nfld. Comes Over to NDP

The NDP is gaining its first member in the Newfoundland legislature in a rather unusual way. John Burgess, the young MLA for Labrador West, will cross the floor from the Liberals to the NDP when the provincial legislature reconvenes in November.

Burgess, Steelworkers international representative in Labrador before his election in 1966, recently led an attempt to organize the workers at the Churchill Falls hydro power project. However, his efforts were frustrated when the provincial Liberal government's labor relations board rejected the application on a technicality.

Burgess finally broke with the Liberals when he supported a statement last month by two ministers who quit Premier Smallwood's cabinet, demanding a more democratic party structure and changes in the government's economic policies.

What was Burgess, a labor man, doing with the Liberals in the first place? We don't know. But the growing disillusionment in Newfoundland at the failure of Smallwood's Liberals to solve the economic and social problems of the province has presented the NDP with important opportunities to show that it alone can provide an alternative. The massive protest vote against the Liberals in Newfoundland last June is only an indication of the possibilities.

* * * *

"Election campaigns are not won in the eight weeks between the issuance of writs and voting day. They are won by continuous, concentrated, coordinated hard work in the period between elections — work directed by competent organizational staffs."

This is the principal conclusion of federal leader T. C. Douglas in an article analyzing the June election results. The article, entitled Labor and Politics, appears in the August issue of *The Barker*, the organ of B.C. Local 1-217 of the International Woodworkers of America.

As well as the organizational difficulties hampering the party's work — such as "lack of funds, lack of trained organizers, lack of experienced workers" — Douglas laments "a distinct lack of pre-election political education among the electorate."

The fact that only 28 percent of Canada's trade unionists voted for the NDP in June has become of major concern to union and party leaders alike. Douglas analyzes the situation as follows: "In many ways we are caught in a vicious circle. Because we lack money we lack the means to carry out an effective program of massive public education." This in turn, he says, curtails the party's growth, causing the shortage of funds.

There is no doubt that labor and NDP political action programs are pretty skimpy, especially between elections. But it would be a mistake to see the problem as a purely structural and financial one. Before the NDP can earn the trust and active support of Canadian workers, the content as well as the amount of political education needs an overhauling. A clear and firm pro-labor stand and participation in the struggles of Canadian working people is the most effective form of education, and one that will most certainly break the "vicious circle."

* * * *

The Aug.-Sept. issue of *Confrontations*, the organ of the New Democratic Youth, features a centerspread description of "The French Revolution 1968." The French general strike in May, says editor Victor Rabinovitch, "was the most important radical social uprising since the Second World War." His article is written from the standpoint of complete sympathy and solidarity with the struggle of the French workers and students. It sees the May events as only the opening shots in a battle which will triumph eventually in workers power in France.

The *Confrontations* article is the first occasion that any official NDP publication has undertaken to analyze the French events, still less to sympathize with the worker-student struggle. It is refreshing evidence that the NDY leaders are aware that to win today's young people, the NDY must solidarize with the revolutionary struggles across the globe.

The article suffers some weaknesses, however. Rabinovitch agrees with Marxists that France was in a revolutionary situation, but he does not explain how the opportunity to take power was lost. He correctly criticizes the Communist party whose leadership bears primary responsibility for the June betrayal of the strike wave. "The Communist CGT in particular was rightfully condemned for poor, unimaginative organization, and has been criticized for having blocked student-worker alliances." But he apparently agrees with the CP bureaucrats that "a full revolution was not really possible" — on the grounds that the army would not have tolerated it! Apparently he is unaware that revolutionary committees were formed even in the conscript army. If led by a revolutionary party, the workers would doubtless have armed themselves.

Rabinovitch's article slurs over the crucial problem of leadership in the French revolt, which he hails for its "spontaneous" character. He does not mention the role of the revolutionary youth organizations, such as the Trotskyist Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR) which played an important part in sparking the student struggle and later sustaining and politicizing the ensuing strike struggle in key factories.

The *Confrontations* article sees the "greatest importance" in the French events in "the alliance between students and workers." But it does not spell out how this alliance was forged, what its internal dynamic was. The result is a certain idealization of the workers' economic struggle, as when an accompanying editorial attempting to apply the lessons of France to Canada makes the exaggerated claim that the recent postal workers strike "threatened the entire economic structure represented by (the Trudeau) government."

Perhaps some of these questions raised by the French "revolution" will be discussed in future issues of *Confrontations*, which promises to deal later with "some of the broader results and their implications for the labor and student movements in Canada."

—Anne Macdonald

CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

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QUEBEC

The Socialist Viewpoint

Following is the text of the resolution on Quebec adopted by the convention of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, which met in Montreal over the July 1 weekend.

"Let us be frank. What is at stake, for me, is nothing less than the survival of Canada."

So said Lester Pearson, then prime minister of the country. The head of state was once again commenting on a fact widely recognized in Canada: after more than 100 years of confederation, there is growing discontent in this country, of such a profound character that it threatens the survival of the established order. Mr. Pearson could not but recognize the main source of this discontent, and the justice of its claims: "There is no one here who does not know that French Canada is presently deeply dissatisfied with its place in confederation. There are complex reasons for that, of varying importance. . . Most of these reasons are well-founded."

The depth of this discontent was dramatically revealed in the 1967 visit of France's president de Gaulle to Quebec, where his demagogic cry "Vive le Québec Libre" evoked a massive and enthusiastic response from the Québécois, provoking a sharp hostile reaction from the federal government, which in turn deeply shocked French Canada. French-speaking Québécois did not welcome de Gaulle as a liberator. Their response was a demonstration of identification with the "francophonie," the French-speaking world, and of expectation that his actions would rebuff the Ottawa government. More precisely, it showed the depth of their consciousness of their national oppression, and their growing desire to achieve a free Quebec.

The French Canadian population of Canada constitutes an oppressed nation within confederation. Its character as a nation is revealed by its possession of a distinct language, culture and history of its own, and above all by its well-defined national consciousness. This consciousness is heightened by the fact that the French Canadian people are concentrated in one area, Quebec, where they constitute an immense majority, and have developed deep cultural roots and forms of cultural, social and political expression. French Canadian national communities can also be found in every province of Canada, constituting a majority of the population in large areas adjacent to Quebec.

The standard of living of the average Québécois reveals the oppressed position of this nation within the Canadian context. His per capita income is only two-thirds of the Canadian average. The rate of unemployment is higher than the Canadian average, sometimes higher even than in the Maritimes, a seriously depressed area. The Quebec rate is double the Ontario rate. In cities of mixed English and French-speaking peoples, it is the latter who live in the most depressed areas. As for the education of French Canadians, dominated by the church and deprived of adequate funds, it is generally recognized as inferior to the education of English-speaking Quebec. The public education system is designed to provide a low-skilled and unskilled and thus a lowly paid work force for industry and the service trades while the "collèges classiques" provide a limited access to the professions.

Yet the most profoundly felt form of the national oppression of the Québécois is the status of their language. The majority of Montrealers can live only with difficulty in their mother tongue in this city, the leading urban center of the nation. English domination has pressed the French language into a completely subordinate position in daily life and poses a strong corrupting force against the French language and culture, while outside Quebec, French Canadians are denied the most elementary language rights even where they constitute a majority. Even the federal government, for all its tokenist concessions, functions in English. Only a feeble minority of the leaders of the government and civil service are French-speaking or effectively bilingual. All important meetings in Ottawa are conducted in English. Discrimination against the French language is most marked on the job, where the ability to work in English is usually a condition of promotion, and often even of employment.

A strong national consciousness has arisen from this condition of national oppression: a self-identification as Québécois, an awareness and resentment of English oppression, and often of the "Uncle Tom" role of French leaders of church, industry and government. For some period after the defeat of the 1837 uprising and the consummation of confederation, the church and other reactionary institutions of Quebec life were the leaders and spokesmen for the French-Canadian people. The development of industry in Quebec, owned and controlled by English-speaking capital, heightened national consciousness. But it also produced a working class preponderant in numbers alone in Quebec society.

The independent dynamic of Québécois nationalism has been more and more clearly seen, as it has broken out of the control of the national bourgeois who have shown their incapacity to defend, let alone extend the national interests of French Canada. Québécois nationalism today presents a formidable challenge to the rulers of Ottawa and Washington, of Bay and St. James streets and Wall street, and is a fundamentally progressive force which, as it moves forward, brings Qubec workers into conflict with the entire capitalist order, including the relatively small French Canadian bourgeoisie.

National consciousness has given new dimensions to the class struggle which is developing on a wider scale

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at all levels of Quebec society today.

The student is made more strongly aware of the limitation of his perspective in Quebec society by the discrimination he must face as a French Canadian in a society dominated by Anglo-American capitalism. The petty-bourgeois can have fewer illusions about his possibilities for advancement. Most of all, the worker's struggle is heightened by the fact that the boss is English-speaking and that his exploitation is redoubled because of his nationality.

The Quebec workers share the problems of their English-Canadian brothers — of inflation, unemployment, "speed-up", insecurity of employment, anti-labor legislation — and struggle against the same enemy, ensconced both in the corporation boardrooms and the state councils. But if the English-speaking worker is held back by illusions as to the nature of the system and his exploitation, the French-speaking worker is more conscious of his exploitation and less inhibited in his reactions. Everywhere he looks there are forces trying to crush his identity as a French Canadian. At work he must speak the boss's language — English. His children are victims of inferior education, while his culture and language deteriorate under the pressure of English domination. He is doubly oppressed — as a worker and as a Québécois. The national oppression of Quebec workers gives their struggle a militancy and a revolutionary dynamic which assures that the workers of Quebec will play a vanguard role in the socialist transformation of Canada.

One of the most notable features of the recent history of Canada is the rise of the French Canadian working class which has demonstrated an unparalleled will to struggle, an unparalleled solidarity and an unparalleled holding power. In pan-Canadian union struggles, the Québécois have consistently been in the vanguard of the struggle. Quebec leads in the pan-Canadian labor struggles in terms of the duration of strikes, the number of workers involved and their militancy. Wide layers of white collar workers are entering the working class movement — Montreal is the site of the first successful organizational drive among bank workers.

Some of Quebec labor's biggest and most successful struggles have been waged by public employees in an area where a strike represents not just a challenge to a boss but a confrontation with the state power. The Quebec government's enactment of far-reaching anti-labor laws and its smashing of public employees' strikes through "emergency laws" has failed to break the momentum of the struggle. It is above all the militancy and strength demonstrated by the Quebec workers that has wrought such profound changes on other layers of society, impressed the students and the poor farmers by its achievements and profoundly changed the face of that society.

Just as the Quebec working class is in the vanguard of the pan-Canadian labor movement, the Quebec students are in the vanguard of the pan-Canadian student movement. In addition to all the factors that have impelled students across the world to challenge the status quo, for Quebec students there is also the deep sense of frustration and injustice that flows from the discrimination against them as French Canadians. They know that the educational system does not prepare them to play the role in society to which they aspire. But even those who feel themselves to be prepared find upon graduation that there are few opportunities open to them. The big corporations that dominate the economy maintain little professional staff and do little or no research at the Canadian end of their operations — and where they do the posts go to *les anglais*.

The student movement, composed largely of youth drawn from the lower middle class, has clearly identified itself with the most dynamic force in the struggle against national oppression — the working class movement. Quebec students have withdrawn from the more conservative Canadian Union of Students to form their own organ

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FAITHFUL SERVANTS OF FOREIGN CAPITAL. Like the native rulers of many colonies, Quebec's traditional politicians, deprived of substantial business and political power of their own, nevertheless copy the trappings of bourgeois rule more faithfully than even their imperialist mentors. Above, speech from the throne, 1953. Second from right is late unlamented premier Maurice Duplessis.

National Struggle Mobilizes Quebecois Workers, Farmers, Students

ization, the Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec (UGEQ), which relates the students' position to that of the workers and poor farmers and which actually considers itself to be part of the trade union movement, in fact a radical wing of it. UGEQ actively supports strikes and organizes giant demonstrations on other issues such as Vietnam. Recently French-speaking university students from several cities (Montreal, Moncton) mobilized *en masse* with the aim of winning reforms in teaching and school fees. An important area where the young university intellectuals have found an expression for their sense of injustice is in the trade union movement, where they have joined organizing staffs and played a leading role in the vast wave of struggles that have stirred Quebec over the past decade.

The farmers, too, pushed to the wall by the widening gap between the prices they obtain for their product and the high cost of equipment and materials required for their operations, have undergone a process of sharp social differentiation. The vast majority, who are quite poor, are organized in a central organization ("centrale") — the Union Catholique des Cultivateurs (UCC). It too has linked itself closely to the working class movement. In recent years these farmers have marched by the thousands on Ottawa and Quebec to advance their demands.

The source of the national oppression of French Canada is the domination of its economy by foreign capital — English Canadian, U.S. and European. Some 80 to 90 percent of Quebec workers are employed by English-speaking capital. In the key Montreal area 80 percent of the wealth of local companies is in the hands of English-speaking capital interests. According to John Porter's analysis of Canada's "economic élite," only one-sixteenth are French-Canadian, and apart from two small Quebec banks they base their power almost entirely on English-controlled corporations.

In many ways Quebec conforms to the classic norms of a colony. It is controlled economically by foreign capital and politically through the Ottawa regime. The eco-

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nomic effect of this imperialist control can be seen in the distortion of the economy — the heavy concentration on extractive industries and cheap labor industries, and the minimal allocation of funds for, and the consequent backwardness of, such basic services as health and education.

The subjection of the French Canadian nation has facilitated the creation of a pool of cheap labor and of unemployment, and the division of the working class of Quebec along national lines. (The English-speaking workers constitute an important sector of the population — all the more in that it is concentrated in Montreal.)

The prevalence, the domination of the English language on the job reflects the self interest of the English-speaking monopolists, who would only increase their costs by employing the French language, and have therefore promoted English as the language of business and work. It also reflects the arrogance of *les monopolistes*, bloated with self importance, permeated with class arrogance and contemptuous of those whom they overlord. Their contempt for every aspect of the culture of the conquered is a form of justification of their conquest and oppression.

Capitalism while it has nowhere given up its economic interests without a terrible struggle, is capable under pressure of granting concessions which would alleviate and tend to eliminate language discrimination. But the Anglo-American monopolists have a massive economic stake in Quebec and it is in the operation and extension of their class interests that the national oppression of the Québécois is rooted. This oppression will be eliminated only through a mass mobilization of the Québécois against the fundamental cause of this injustice — Anglo-American capitalism and its political agents and collaborators in Ottawa and in Quebec.

Nothing can be expected from the French Canadian capitalist class in the struggle to make the Québécois "maîtres chez eux" (masters in their own house). The Quebec national bourgeoise stands today in a position of extreme weakness and in close alliance with English Canadian and U.S. capital. Confederation provided English capital with the political framework to carry out the basic industrialization of Canada. The stripping of the public treasury, so important to the establishment of capitalism in this country, was carried out by English capital for its own profit. Through its tariff and foreign trade policy, and through gifts of exploitation rights for the resources of the country, the federal government cleared the road for English-speaking capital. Ottawa's immigration and education policies deprived the French-speaking population outside Quebec of its language rights. It restricted the rights of the French community to a single province, intending to drown French Canada in the English-speaking majority.

The French Canadian bourgeoisie lacked the strength to contest English capital's stranglehold on the Quebec economy. Instead, it resigned itself to the role of subservient collaborator of English-speaking capital. Together with the clergy it cooperated with the invader and aided this economic invasion, while isolating the Québécois from the rest of the continent with its promotion of a reactionary, clerical and rustic nationalism.

Today the economic base of the French-speaking bourgeoisie is extremely weak. What power it has is closely tied to that of English Canadian and U.S. capital. Within the framework established by the English-speaking bourgeoisie it maneuvers to win special privileges, but confronted by the mounting struggle of the working class it cannot and does not attempt a change in the basic relationship of forces.

The weakness of the national bourgeoisie has enabled the petty-bourgeoisie in Quebec to play on occasion an unusually prominent social role. In the past, it has been the chief spokesman for Quebec nationalism. It has provided the major base of support of the provincial parties, and wielded great influence through provincial governments. On several occasions it has brought forth new nationalist formations such as the Bloc Populaire and the present separatist parties. Yet its record and its prospects for advancing the national struggle are very meager.

Quebec provincial governments have engaged in many disputes with the federal government to win marginal concessions for the Quebec petty-bourgeoisie and the French Canadian nation, within the overall framework of confederation and continued Anglo-American domination. Since the end of the Duplessis era, they have made many moves to strengthen the power of the Quebec government, modernize its structure, and use its power to promote the interests of the French-speaking petty-bourgeoisie and French-speaking capital. On many questions, it has raised legitimate national demands, such as the right of Quebec to an independent role in foreign affairs.

Whatever its episodic victories, the overall record shows the great weakness of the provincial government, and of the petty-bourgeois nationalism which has provided the main driving force in these contests. Ambitious economic projects to round out Quebec's economy and to provide the base for modernization, have been stalemated. The government can survive only on the suffrance of big capital, and even then suffers chronic financial problems. Unwilling to press matters to a showdown with Ottawa and the monopolies, it has been unable to rally deep-going popular support, caught as it is in the crossfire of

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Some Relevant Reading

Lenin on the National Question
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on the National Question
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the class struggle, and forced to move out more and more harshly against the working class as this struggle has advanced.

The present debate over constitutional reforms will result in no substantial solutions to the pressing problems of the daily life of the working people. The chief protagonists of these constitutionalist reforms have no concept of mobilizing effective forces, let alone changing the relationship of class forces. In the last analysis, a constitution is only a reflection of this real class relationship and no serious changes, constitutionally or otherwise, will take place until a mass movement has challenged the power of the great monopolies which control Quebec. Both the Union Nationale and Liberal governments of Quebec have faced the same dilemma: to protect the interests of big capital on which they ultimately rest, they must move out more and more openly against the struggles of the exploited classes. Thus they exhaust any potential for carrying a serious struggle for equality for the French Canadian nation.

Three new nationalist parties have seen the light of day in recent years of which two, the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendence Nationale (RIN—Assembly for National Independence) and the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association (MSA—Movement for Sovereignty-Association) have considerable appeal to militants among students and intellectuals and in the working class. These parties, different in origin and many aspects of program, are both petty-bourgeois in their social base and their program. Their aim is to build a united movement of all social classes, with the goal of national independence (through separation, or sovereignty and subsequent association with English Canada), in which framework social reforms could then be achieved. Their program on the national question does not go much beyond formal independence — the RIN states it will welcome U.S. capital investment, while the MSA advocates economic union with English Canada and thus with the English-speaking monoplies. Neither proposes to challenge the power of the monopolies. Their social program offers little to the exploited classes of Quebec.

Given the continued absence of a labor party, these parties would attract some working class support. Yet they are fundamentally the political image of their class. Unable to develop a program genuinely independent of the capitalist class, unable to carry a real struggle against the monopolies, unable to develop a social program to meet the needs of the working class, they are fated to be shoved aside by the developing class struggle in Quebec.

In the classical colonial or semi-colonial countries, the class differentiation within the national movement and the rise of the working class to the leading role necessary to carry the bourgeois democratic revolution through to the end via the socialist revolution is usually established only after a series of complex struggles and at a late stage in the process. Quebec however is distinguished from the classical colony by the fact that it is an industrialized area where the farmers, though impoverished, own their own land and constitute only a small part of the population, and the class antagonisms characteristic of capitalism dominate social relations, with the working class a developed, independent and powerful force.

In Quebec not only is the national bourgeoisie closely allied with and dependent upon Anglo-American capital, but the "national" government is an open instrument of the monopolies in battling the labor movement. The Quebec working class comprises the overwhelming majority of the population, and is organized along economic lines in trade unions over 600,000 strong ranged against both Anglo-American and Quebec capitalist interests. It is already beginning to move along the lines of independent political action against these interests which are organized as a class in control of state power.

A parallel polarization around the Quebec question is beginning to shape up in English Canada. While the bourgeois parties are implacable in their opposition to the national demands of Quebec, it is the New Democratic Party which has moved towards support of the national struggle, endorsing and campaigning for the concept of special status for Quebec. If this has not been defined to incorporate the full right of self-determination, it encompasses the concept that it is the people of Quebec who must determine the special relationship they desire with English Canada.

The struggle to establish the national rights of the Québécois is shaping up as a class struggle for political power, headed up by the working class. Only a mobilization of the workers and their allies against the present system, against capitalism, the real cause of the injustices, can open the road to the national liberation of French Canada. This will have to be done against the tenacious resistence of the capitalist class, French and Anglo-American.

The militancy displayed by the working class and its allies in the Quebec class struggle shows the depth of class and national injustice in Quebec, and how sharply this injustice is felt by the Quebec people. The only road to remove the source of this injustice is a socialist revolution, through which the workers of Quebec will gain control over the politicial and economic structure of the country.

The great task of the working class is to replace the governments of the Lesages and Johnsons with a workers and farmers government, expressing the needs of the exploited classes of Quebec, which can eliminate the source of national and class injustice by destroying the capitalist order in Quebebc, by taking over control and ownership of the great foreign monopolies which presently have a stranglehold on Quebec society, and establishing the real independence of Quebec from all foreign domination.

With the nationalization of the monopolies which presently control the economy and lives of the Québécois, the utilization of Quebec's great productive resources will be harnessed to the needs of the working people, and Quebec will rapidly overcome the backwardness forced upon it by imperialism. Socialist planning will take place through the democratic management of the workers themselves, on the shop level, and in the working out of the overall economic plan.

With a workers government, where the masses will be in full control, the concept of self-determination of the Quebec people as a sovereign nation will come to its full fruition. It will reverse the present tendency towards inundation of the French culture by establishing French as the sole official language. It will utilize the already great wealth of the economy to promote and assist the development of French culture and language, making available in French all the technical material, etc., required for the many-sided development of technology and culture, and ensuring the development of close cultural links with the French-speaking world.

By eliminating the exploitation of Quebec by foreign capital, and the social system that feeds on the poverty,

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unemployment and discrimination, the socialist revolution will remove the root causes of national oppression. It will establish once and for all the sovereignty of the French-Canadian people and their independence from any form of foreign domination, and thus open the door to real equality in the relationships between French and English Canada. The Quebec people will then be free to establish the relationships they desire with surrounding peoples, and will undoubtedly seek and establish an association with them in a United Socialist States of North America.

French Canada has the historic right to determine freely its relationship with English Canada, including the right to separate if it so desires. Revolutionary socialists defend this right to self-determination. But it is not enough to take this basic democratic position; revolutionary socialists take a stand on how it should be implemented, from the standpoint of what will best advance the struggle of the working class at any given period.

Would it advance the overall struggle to adopt the program of separation of Quebec from English Canada? It is striking that despite the existence for several years now of an articulate movement for political independence, with the resources to make its viewpoint known, workers have shown little interest in it and given it no real support. No tendency of the labor movement has adopted an independentist program. The response to the independentist appeals has been largely limited to the rootless intellectuals, to the petty-bourgeois, who see no other vehicle for ending Quebec's national oppression, rather than to labor, whose powerful forces are already in struggle against the Anglo-American monopolies on a more extensive scale.

Is there such a gap in the level and direction of the class struggle in Quebec and in English Canada that the workers struggle could be advanced by orienting to political independence from English Canada? For the Québécois labor and nationalist movement, as for Canadian labor outside Quebec, the enemy is in Ottawa. The enemy is the federal state whose power stands behind national and class domination in Quebec. Why would a class that understands this fail to take into account that the Canadian working class outside Quebec is organized on a massive scale against Ottawa, both on the trade union level and politically through the NDP? The forces of labor are even a step ahead in the rest of Canada, in one respect — they have a powerful political arm, the NDP, which in general identifies itself with the cause of French Canada and has already succeeded in establishing itself as a force in Quebec. The strong roots of the NDP in Quebec and the association of the majority of the organized working class in Quebec with the Canadian Labor Congress provide evidence of Quebec labor's awareness of the great benefits to be gained for its struggle by allying itself with the organized forces of the English Canadian working class, in a common struggle against the federal state.

The political independence of French Canada stands as an historic alternative, which cannot be approved or rejected except in terms of given social conditions at a given time. At this time, there are no grounds to believe that the working class, by adopting the program of political independence, would advance its interests in any way, in terms either of its present class consciousness or of its ultimate objective of defeating the power of the monopolies politically buttressed by the Ottawa regime.

Despite its rapid growth and demonstrated strength, the Quebec labor movement finds itself today in a serious impasse. A number of major strikes have been turned back or defeated by provincial government back-to-work emergency laws, with the bipartisan support of the Liberal and Union Nationale parties. Damaging anti-labor

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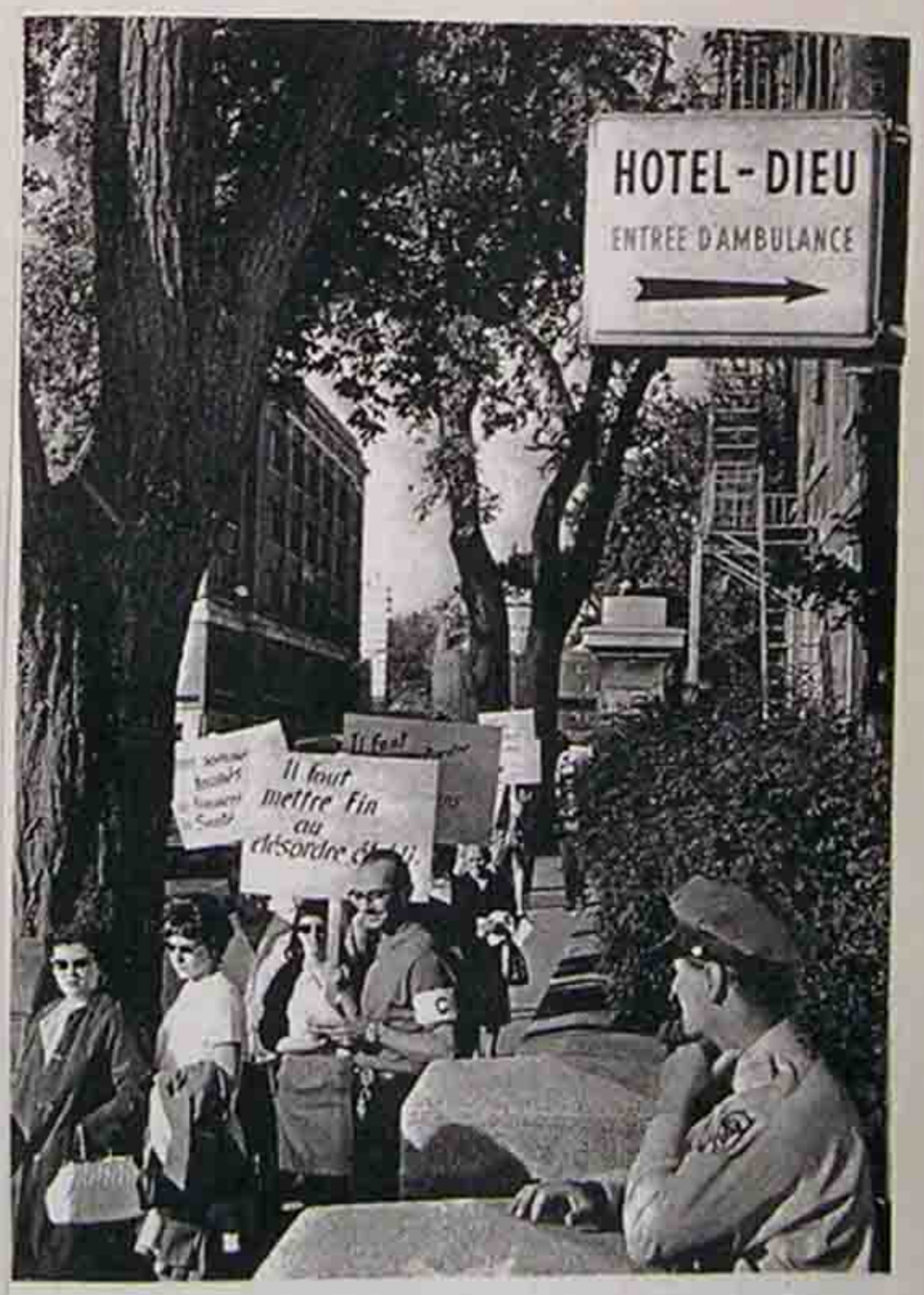
NEW FACES ON QUEBEC PICKET LINES

TEACHERS . . .



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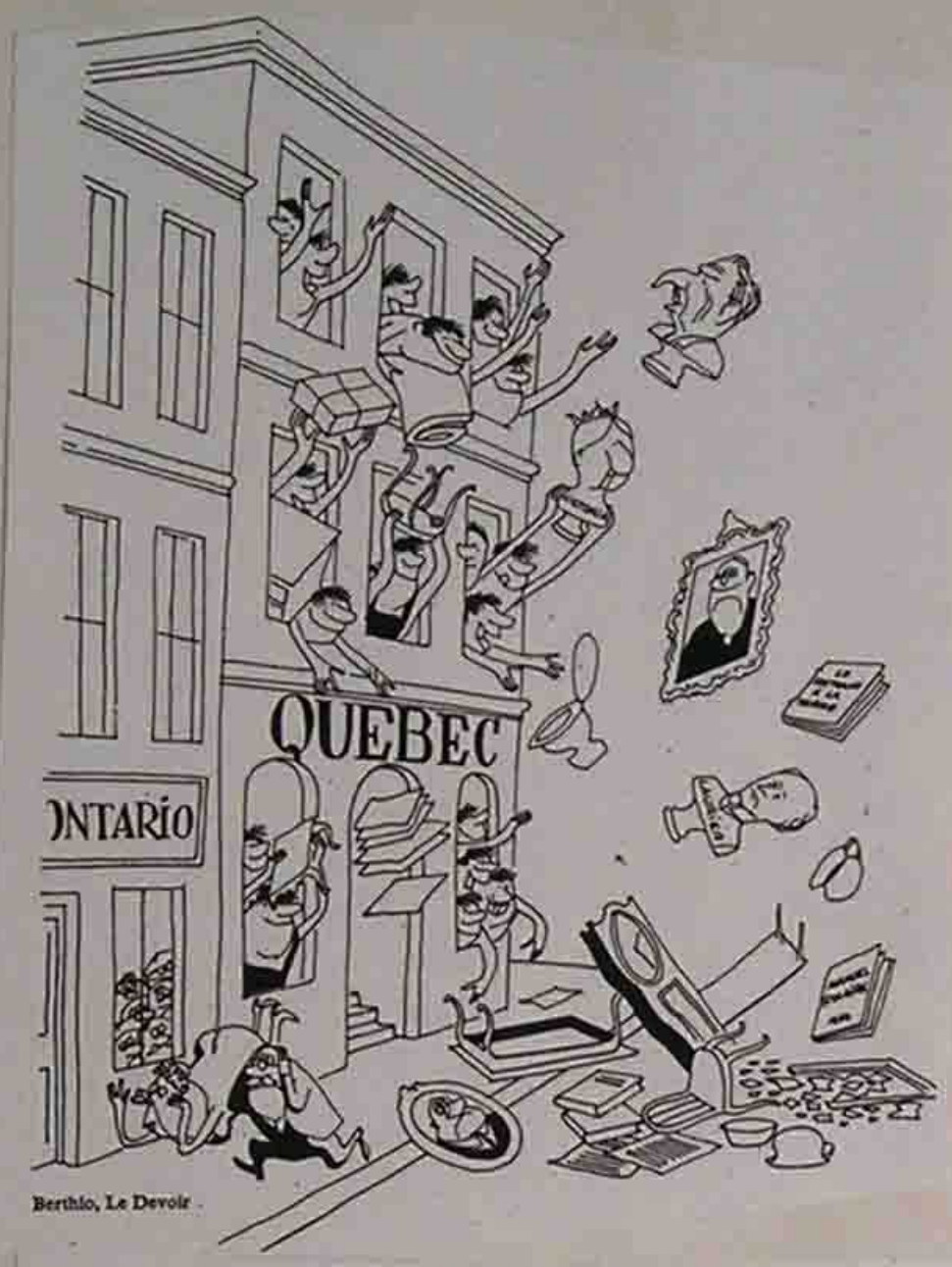

Berthio, Le Devoir

laws have been written into the statute books. The achievement of the most basic social goals of the labor movement, of a durable and meaningful improvement in the standard of living of Quebec workers, of significant moves against Quebec's national oppression, is totally blocked by the political monopoly of the Liberals and the Union Nationale, committed to the defense of capitalist interests against all challenges.

The dilemma of the labor movement stands in striking contradiction to its repeatedly proven power and will to struggle, and to the breadth of its influence and the support it has rallied in other key sectors of society. Many fundamental criticisms must be made of the policies of the union leaderships, but we must recognize that the Quebec union leadership, while it varies in character according to the union in question, plays on the whole a more positive role than elsewhere in Canada — more energetic, more open to rank and file pressure, less mired in bureaucratic privilege and bureaucratic methods of operation. It has repeatedly opened the door to militant and effective class action on the trade union level.

Nor can the fault be laid to union structure. In fact the record of internecine conflicts and raiding within the labor movement is now tending to be overcome by serious moves on the part of both the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) and Quebec Federation of Labor (QFL) to bridge the division.

Rather the great problem has been the failure so far of the QFL and particularly the CNTU to undertake independent labor political action, to present an alternative to the anti-labor regimes of Lesage and Johnson. They have attempted to win concessions through lobbying, through pressuring the existing regimes, only to see both governments move to an overtly anti-labor position. If the labor leadership has held back in the past from political action through its illusions about the character of these parties and the lack of confidence in the strength of its own movement, the general motion towards a labor party is now becoming clear. The QFL, which has endorsed the NDP federally since its foundation, passed a proposal at its last congress calling for a conference to discuss the creation of this party. A strong political base for the party already exists in the New Democratic Party, which has achieved a substantial vote across the province in recent federal elections. The basis for the NDP's refusal to enter the provincial arena has been considerably undercut by Lévesque's exit from the Liberal party, which has seriously undermined many illusions about the provincial Liberals, including many held in the CNTU leadership. It is highly significant that the CNTU Montreal Council endorsed the NDP in the 1968 federal election, for the first time in its history.

The projected party could well in fact be formed as a constituent part of the NDP. Whatever the case, it would naturally develop close fraternal ties with the NDP, while retaining general autonomy in its own structures and policies, and possibly developing its own federal wing to run candidates in Quebec federal elections parallel to NDP candidates elsewhere. Once founded, the party would immediately draw strength from the organizational framework already existing in the unions and the NDP, and would be in a position to capitalize on the mounting ferment and militancy in Quebec to pose a powerful alternative to capitalist rule in Quebec City.

The revolutionary socialists organized in the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action have been among the first and most consistent promotors of a Quebec labor party. Through its journal, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, the LSO, united in a pan-Canadian organization with the LSA, has called for an open conference of the two great labor federations, QFL and CNTU, along with the students union (UGEQ), the union of small farmers (UCC), the New Democratic Party, the socialist organizations and others to found this party and set it on the road to power — a call which was taken up, if not yet carried out, by the QFL congress.

Even though the orientation of the trade union and NDP leadership will play initially a leading role in the formation of this labor party, it is by no means predetermined that the party will be reformist. On the contrary the conditions surrounding its creation are of such a character as to assure that it has every possibility of developing in a totally different direction. The party will be decisively shaped by the objective situation of the working class, which cries out for revolutionary solutions. It will be created in a period not of retreat but of militant advance of the working class. It will reflect a class struggle rendered more explosive by the national oppression, the super exploitation of Quebec workers. It will not be burdened with the tradition of reformism and with the weight of past defeats which weigh on working class parties in many countries. It will draw to it all the political tendencies of the labor and student movement, and can offer a wide field for revolutionists to put forward their program.

There is every possibility that the party will reject the reformist course and set out in a revolutionary direction. It can be won to a program of revolutionary transitional demands, which lead the working class in struggle from today's consciousness to an understanding of the need for a socialist society, and to the struggle to realize it. Rather than being confined to the parliamentary mould, it can be a broad activist movement, campaigning in all arenas through all forms of action necessary to promote the welfare of the working class. It can campaign around a developed program of profoundly revolutionary demands such as the sliding scale of hours and wages, adequate salaries for students, opening the books of the monopolies. While supporting national demands coming

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out of the daily struggles of the Québécois like the right to work in one's native language and the need for wage parity with Ontario, it can raise the necessity of ending the stranglehold of foreign capital, which stands behind the national oppression of Quebec, by nationalization of the foreign monopolies. In international policy, it would find a natural tendency to identify itself with the anti-colonialist struggles around the world, and could mobilize mass opposition to the policies of U.S. imperialism revealed so clearly in Vietnam.

Where will the forces come from to win the labor party, and the working class as a whole, to such a revolutionary program? The militancy and the rich possibilities for socialism in Quebec today contrast, strikingly with the weakness of most of the existing socialist organizations, and their lack of a living orientation to the working class.

The Communist Party of Quebec, for example, is totally incapable and unwilling to provide such a revolutionary socialist alternative. Pursuing its policy of peaceful coexistence, it has in fact given up the perspective of struggle for the socialist transformation of Quebec, and survives as a feeble rump without influence in the workers movement. While calling for a labor party in Quebec, the CP opposes its adoption of a socialist program — rather it advocates that the party limit itself to a minimum program to facilitate a bloc with petty-bourgeois political forces. This group, that recognizes in words the right of Quebec to self-determination but remains silent on the policy of Russification of the Ukraine pursued by the Soviet bureaucracy, that shamelessly attacks the symbol of the Latin American revolution, Che Guevara, and apologizes for the counter-revolutionary policy now being conducted by the Communist Party of France, has already been tested and by-passed by events.

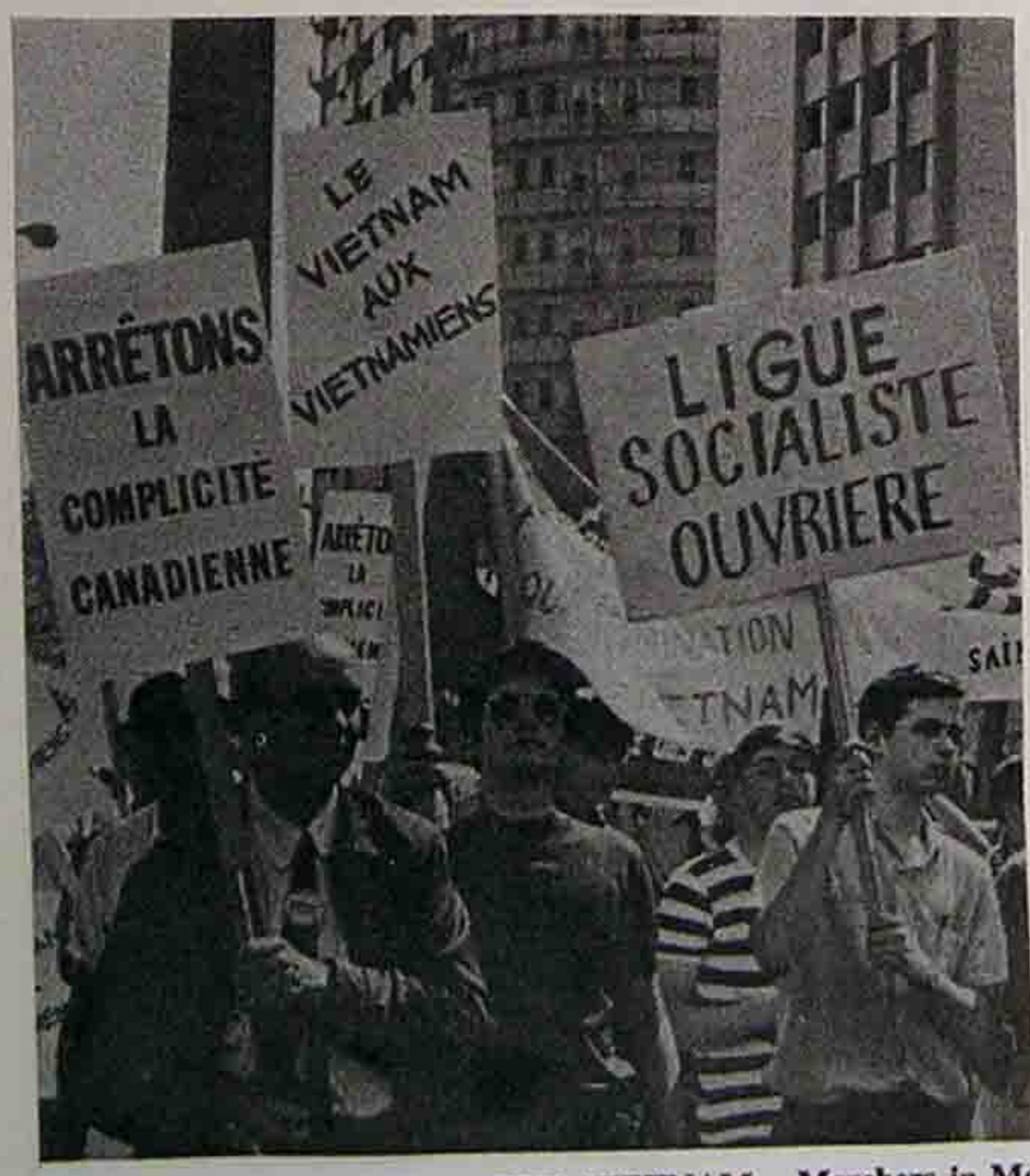
The terrorist current generally identified with the Front de Libération Québécois (Quebec Liberation Front) has played a dramatic, if diversionary role in the development of the Quebec left. While its partisans have displayed courage and great willingness to sacrifice for the revolution, their actions were foredoomed to failure. The Quebec working class is not waiting for the clarion call to revolutionary action from outside but searching out a leadership that sinks deep roots into the class, that goes through the experiences of the class, and that throws up new leaders from the class in the process of these experiences.

Several socialist independentist tendencies have emerged in recent years from the broader independentist movement — the Mouvement de Libération Populaire (Peoples' Liberation Movement), the Jeunesse Socialiste du Québec (Quebec Socialist Youth) the Front de Libération Populaire (Peoples' Liberation Front), the Comité de Coordination Indépendance-Socialisme (Independence-Socialism Coordinating Committee) etc. These organizations share a revolutionary perspective, emphasizing that political independence is part of the process of national and social liberation. They solidarize with the heroic struggle of colonial peoples against imperialism, they seek a socialist transformation of Quebec, sometimes showing some understanding that the working class is the motor force of this transformation.

To realize their revolutionary aspirations, these vanguard elements must orient their ideas and their slogans towards the daily struggle of the workers, through a program of transitional demands. In general they have failed to do this, have failed to develop a trade union program, substituting the slogan of political independence of Quebec as the fundamental slogan, sometimes even as the precondition for struggle. These independentists have not grasped the need to build a labor party, in the concrete conditions of Quebec, as a transitional step towards the revolutionary transformation that they strive for. Despite their instability and frequent collapse, these groups represent an important tendency in the process of formation, education and organization of the revolutionary socialist leadership in Quebec, from which individuals and entire groups can be won to a revolutionary socialist program and organization.

In contrast to such tendencies, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière stands firmly on the developed program and long experience of Marxism-Leninism and its current expression, Trotskyism. As part of a united Canada-wide organization, the LSO/LSA, it gains strength from the united resources and experience of revolutionaries joined in a common struggle around a common program. Its close fraternal association with the Fourth International provides the international outlook needed to develop the program for a socialist Canada.

If the Quebec labor party reflects the revolutionary possibilities inherent in the society that gives it birth, it will nonetheless take the action of the conscious revolutionary socialists to meet the challenge of winning the party to a revolutionary program and orientation. The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, armed with the program and with the nucleus of forces required, is determined not to fail in this essential task.



QUEBEC SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM. Marchers in Montreal anti-war demonstration link Vietnam struggle with French Canadian call for a "Free Quebec."

Ontario NDP Leaders Compete for Left Label

WV #160
Oct. 21/68

The mood of unease and re-examination of program, policies and leadership which has been growing throughout the New Democratic Party in the wake of the June federal election results, has taken a new turn in Ontario ranks with federal president and MPP Jim Renwick's decision to challenge Donald MacDonald for the post of provincial leader of the convention next month.

Renwick's challenge apparently came as a surprise to everyone. It is not clear yet what support he is counting on within the party. But Renwick claims he is appealing to those elements in the Ontario NDP who want the party to present "a more radical image." Announcing his decision to run for leader, Renwick told a press conference that he believed his philosophy is further left than MacDonald's. He has "more style and perspective" than MacDonald, he claimed.

However, MacDonald insisted he was personally no less radical. Both men, it seems, feel it is fashionable to be considered "on the left."

Renwick's first public speech after his announcement that he would seek the leadership failed to reveal any important programmatic differences with MacDonald, with whom he has closely collaborated for several years. At the Couchiching conference of the Young New Democrats, Renwick promised "a radical analysis" of party policies — "a leadership of challenge, for a party of change" — but refused to spell out the implications of his rethinking. He rejected the idea of the NDP as a predominantly labor party: "The party was not established to be a labor party. It is quite possible to have a socialist society in Ontario without having a labor party." This stance is hardly likely to be attractive to most NDP activists, who are well aware of the progressive and radical significance of the NDP as the political expression of the Canadian working class.

CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

Renwick, 51, a former corporation lawyer who worked on Conservative election campaigns and later investigated Liberal politics, joined the NDP in 1962. (He then lost his job with Roland Michener's law firm.) He is best known to the general public for his active support of residents threatened by unjust urban renewal legislation. Last year, he led low-income Don Mount homeowners in a sit-in in Toronto's city council chambers to protest inadequate compensation for their expropriated houses.

* * * *

Columnist and ex-MP Douglas Fisher, NDP candidate in York Center in the June election, told his riding association recently that the NDP "must be more radical, especially in economic matters."

"It's time to talk about nationalizing land, nationalizing insurance companies," he said.

"I think these things would have shock impact."

* * * *

The Ontario monthly *New Democrat* is showing encouraging signs of becoming more lively and relevant to the average NDPer. Recent issues have featured interesting articles on such varied subjects as the anti-Vietnam war movement; the need for more involvement of unionists in the party; the role of women in the party; reviews of current books like Horowitz's *Canadian Labour in Politics* and Purdy's *New Romans;* the boycott to aid the California grape strikers; the need for the party to "act more directly on local issues" in the community, outside the restricted parliamentary realm; and the recent MPP's caucus meeting in Kingston to sound out local grievances and views.

Most significant, controversy within the party has been permitted to find expression in the pages of the official organ — for example, ex-executive member Val Scott's beefs, and a noticeable increase in letters which in the October issue were so numerous they squeezed out the editorial.

"The mood is radical," concludes provincial secretary John Harney in a front-page spread on the upcoming convention in the latest issue. A new program for the party, he says, "must reflect the changing mood within the party." Harney raises many of the issues, but confines his own contribution to the restatement of superficial generalities.

The party leadership may hope to contain the new unrest and dissent in the ranks by offering a change of "image." But many of the issues being raised in the party press open the door wide to a discussion of the socialist alternative.

by Anne Macdonald

Workers' Vanguard #159 - October 7, 1968

Front page

Boss Backed by Wage Laws

Picton's War on Poverty

by P. Kent

There is a war raging right across this country. And it's not the long talked of "war on poverty" or the recently projected struggle for "the just society." These are only battles of words designed to numb our senses to the situation.

Heading up forces on one of the more active fronts of the very real war, where it has flared up into an open confrontation, is J. V. Findlay. He is the plant manager of the Proctor-Silex operation in Picton, a quiet town of four to five thousand in Eastern Ontario's Prince Edward County.

"A war," that's how Findlay described his handling of a dispute with the some 100 striking employees of the company. "I'm fighting a war," he said, "using my fieldcraft I learned while in the army."

The objective of Mr. Findlay's bitter campaign is a very simple one — to keep the wages of the workers in this specific plant down and the profits of the owners of the company up. The old agreement provided a base rate of 93 cents which, with piecework rates, provided a minimum of $1 an hour for women. The rate for men was $1.27. Mr. Findlay, who is paying strikebreakers $1.52 (the union wants $1.80) has admitted that the old rate was "disgustingly low."

Amongst the hardware in Mr. Findlay's arsenal is a helicopter. It has been used to fly some 12 workers, whom he has used all his ingenuity to keep at work, in and out of the plant past union pickets. He also has the courts, which have granted him an injunction limiting pickets to only three persons. And this has of course brought the police, with all their equipment, onto the scene.

It's a civil war, involving nearly everyone in the community. Some 400 demonstrated in front of the plant on September 29 in solidarity, with the strikers, and they're going to do so again on the next three Sundays.

At $1.27 an hour, a married man with one child would find himself more than $358 a year below what the Economic Council of Canada in its recent report considers the point where, not poverty, but bitter poverty begins. Nonetheless Findlay continues the struggle on the Picton front.

Mr. Findlay, just a little man, a mere hireling, can keep up his end in Picton only because the struggle to put the clamps on wages is being waged right across the country by gigantic corporations and all the varied institutions that they control, including the provincial and federal governments.

The truth is that the very forces which have been talking for years about a "war on poverty" and more recently a "just society" are the same that are conducting this war against wage increases — while they have been implementing policies that only add to the inflationary pressures that result in price increases and further cuts in wages in terms of the goods they buy.

Mr. Findlay is only fighting to keep wages in Proctor-Silex in line with the wages that the Ontario government itself has declared to be the minimum by law. Tens of thousands of workers in Ontario work for wages at or near this legal $1 an hour. An Ontario Labor Department report released last month showed that more than one half of the 76,776 employees in hotels and restaurants receive less than $1.25 an hour. One fifth of the 209,932 workers in retail trade get less than $1.25 an hour. And women fare much worse than men. In the hotel and restaurant field, while 30.1 percent of the men earn less than $1.25 an hour, 67.1 percent of the women earn less than that amount. In knitting mills 6.4 percent of the men and 30.1 percent of the women earn less than $1.25 an hour.

A key factor in maintaining such criminally low wage pockets as Picton is the wages-prices policy of the Trudeau government.

Backed up by a high powered campaign to cover up monopoly profit gouging with the lie that workers' efforts to keep up with continuing price increases are actually the cause of the increases, the Trudeau government succeeded in curtailing wage increases in key areas to 6 and 7½ percent a year. The government succeeded in doing this with the seaway workers, the postmen, and the Air Canada pilots, by threatening compulsory arbitration.

Ottawa's latest action to curtail wage increases was the cancellation of the winter-works project. Through cynically increasing the ranks of the unemployed they hope to intimidate the employed.

The working people have an important stake in the struggle to eliminate the low wage pockets scattered across the country. Labor can't lose such struggles as are being waged at Picton without undermining its fighting capacity to win better conditions on the major fronts and all down the line.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

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COST OF LIVING :

Challenge to Labor Ranks

by Ross Dowson

The biggest challenge confronting the working people of this country is the continually mounting cost of living. The only force that can really and effectively intervene in this situation is the organized labor movement, over two million strong and representing over one third of the total work force. It has failed miserably to come to grips with this question.

In the face of the onslaught of price increases hitting in from every side, even workers in manufacturing, the most highly organized and strategically situated sector of the working class, have only succeeded in establishing a real rate of increase of one percent a year.

The rest of the working people, hit by the price gouging of the goods processing and merchandising corporations, by increased taxes imposed on them by the many levels of Liberal-Tory party governments, are seeing their real living standards steadily deteriorate. The widening number of pensioners, and persons such as university students, living on fixed incomes, are suffering on an increasing scale.

While the CLC leadership, in the words of its president Donald MacDonald, "rejects wage guidelines and wage restraints," its policies have resulted in the imposition by the Big Business interests, backed up by the Trudeau government, of wage guidelines across the labor movement, through the back door.

Instead of mobilizing the united forces of labor in a massive coordinated wage struggle, as developed in the late forties, they have acquiesced in the establishment of wage settlements far lower than those absolutely required, and tied them to long term contracts which make it difficult, if not impossible, to meet new waves of cuts in real wages due to continued inflation.

It isn't that there is no instrument in labor's arsenal to meet this problem. Following World War II and on into the '50s, union after union on this continent established in their contracts what was known as the escalator clause. This clause guaranteed automatic wage increases wtih each rise in the cost of living, usually as it was registered in the in many ways inadequate government cost of living index. In this way, by protecting the hard won base rates with automatic additional increases the unions preserved their fighting capacity to establish new gains.

With the first slight ebb in inflation the leadership of nearly all the

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Challenge To Labor

(Continued from page 1)

major unions dumped this precious protection by absorbing the increases gained through the escalator clause into the basic rate. They passed this off as a solid and substantial breakthrough in establishing higher wage scales. They then sought to bring stability into the bargaining process, to cap the pressure of the ranks, by signing long term contracts.

A policy of short term contracts must be re-established. The two, three year (which has become the norm) and longer contract policy must be ended. It has not only rendered the unions less responsive to the needs of the membership, it has actually been building up anti-union currents in the shops.

The escalator clause must be re-established in the contracts of every union. If Big Business and its government flunkies knew that they would have to restore each inflationary wage cut they made into the workers' pay envelope with an automatic wage payment, the inflationary spiral would soon settle down.

With this automatic built-in protection the organized strength of the labor movement could be applied to making new and significant gains for the entire working class.

The winning of the escalator clause for unionists would make it possible for organized labor to go to bat on a big scale for all those living on fixed incomes. The winning of automatic supplements to pensions and government payments of all sorts, including student loans, would build a mighty understanding and sympathy for labor's cause in these important ranks of the population.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#161

Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

New Anti-War Forces

by The Editors

October 26 marked the birth of a new anti-war movement in Canada, culminating a long and difficult gestation. The main feature of every demonstration across the country was the appearance of new forces, which have developed entirely outside the old "peace" establishment. The backbone of these new forces is the students, including large high school contingents, most of them members of independent single-issue committees which have sprung up in recent months as opposition to the Vietnam war deepens among broader layers of young people.

Also significant was the participation in some cities of contingents of NDP members, and the unprecented extent of identification by leading NDP spokesmen, including for the first time the entire parliamentary caucus of the NDP, with the aims and actions of the October 26 mobilization. Although the NDP press has yet to develop a campaign atmosphere around the Vietnam question, it did open up its columns to publicize the anti-war demonstrations.

In contrast, the remnants of the old "peace" establishment based on pacifists and the Communist party played a minimal role in all the demonstrations, or in the case of the CP, abstained entirely. Their decline in influence and numbers is a product of the polarization in opinion provoked by the war itself, which has mercilessly exposed the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and the futility of all "peaceful coexistence" theories which seek an accommodation with imperialism through demands for "negotiations" or anything short of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Johnson's latest humbug about a bombing pause unaccompanied by withdrawal fooled almost no one this time.

The success of the Oct. 26 demonstrations is an impressive tribute to the correct perspective of those who have fought to build a mass anti-war movement in this country based on the uncompromising program of immediate U.S. and allied withdrawal from Vietnam and an end to Canadian complicity in the war. The fresh forces won to the movement around that clear and necessary program have shown in action that they will not be intimidated either by police harassment or ultra-left diversions tending to dissipate the movement in some generalized "anti-imperialist" action that avoids the crucial question of Canadian complicity.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#162 - Nov. 18, 1969

A Radical Program for the NDP

by Anne Macdonald

The leadership contest in the Ontario NDP has presented the membership with a golden opportunity to re-evaluate the party's answers to the mounting problems confronting the working people of the province. But both incumbent Donald MacDonald and challenger Jim Renwick have followed the big business party pattern of turning the contest into a meaningless personality clash.

It has been left to the very modest forces assembled around the Socialist Caucus to present the delegates to this month's convention in Kitchener with a socialist program capable of responding to the "radical mood" which even NDP officials agree is infiltrating the ranks. Party office-seekers may *talk* about "confrontation politics" — but only the Caucus advances a program of meaningful confrontation with the capitalist rulers of this country.

The Caucus, an unofficial group of NDP members who seek to win the party to a socialist program, has prepared position papers on the key issues. These have been circulated in the weeks before the convention; as models for resolutions to be passed in the constituency associations. All of them have been incorporated in resolutions going to the convention. Many, however, will not see the light of day, as the official agenda allots only four and a half hours of the three-day convention to policy discussion.

The position papers deal with labor, youth, housing, nationalization, party activities, women's role, and Vietnam. Following are some highlights.

Labor

The debate among some of the candidates for office in the Ontario NDP over whether the party is or is not a "labor party" is largely irrelevant, since no one challenges the party's existing relationship with the trade union movement. As the po-

(See page 4)

. . . Socialist Caucus Program

(Continued from page 1)

litical arm of organized labor, we think the NDP *is* the labor party.

Much more to the point is the Socialist Caucus' demand that the party unconditionally and actively campaign for the independence of the trade unions against all state interference, be it in the form of injunctions, wage "guidelines," or compulsory arbitration. It calls on the party to identify with the militants' demands that inflation be countered by a cost of living clause, and that an "increase in productivity must benefit workers through a corresponding reduction in working hours."

Housing

MacDonald repeats the present program, which does not go much beyond advocating subsidies from the public treasury to land speculators, developers and landlords. Renwick says this is "inadequate"—but doesn't say why. The Caucus correctly poses the only solution to the housing crisis, with its demand for massive public housing on publicly owned land, to be put under tenants' control.

Women

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women found that "female poverty" was the great "puzzler" confronting them from coast to coast. Clearly only the NDP can explain and solve this "puzzler."

The NDP's brief to the Commission blames "attitudes" for the problem. The Caucus points to the profit-oriented system as the source of those attitudes. Socialists, it says, should demand a wage for full-time housewives, woman's full right to birth control including abortions, in addition to the NDP's present demands for child care centers, equal job opportunities, vocational retraining and a tax credit for full time housewives. The Caucus paper also supports recent demands in *The New Democrat* that the NDP eliminate all discrimination within its own ranks by encouraging women "to run as candidates in ridings where the NDP has a good chance of winning. More women are needed in the leading positions of the Party."

Youth

The student power movement sweeping through the schools and colleges is creating whole strata of radicalized youth who should be attracted to the NDP. Yet, with rare exceptions, the party has done nothing to take up their demands and win the student rebels to its ranks. Jim Renwick even goes out of his way to tell the students to cool their struggle.

The socialist Caucus calls on the party to popularize the demand for free education at all levels, and urges support for the federal New Democratic Youth demands for student-faculty control of schools and campuses as well as adequate living allowances for students..

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#162 - Nov. 18, 1968

Editor: ROSS DOWSON
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Set by Union Labor.

The War Goes On

Johnson's "halt" to the bombing of north Vietnam is a victory for the revolutionary Vietnamese freedom fighters and the anti-war movement in the United States and throughout the world. Washington's strategists have been forced to acknowledge the complete military and political failure of their attempts to cow the Vietnamese, to break the back of their courageous resistance in a hail of cowardly and immensely destructive bombing. The cheap political demagogy associated with the timing of Johnson's decision — on the eve of the U.S. elections — does not detract in any way from the magnitude or political significance of the north Vietnamese victory. If anything, it only underlines the profound unpopularity of the war amongst the American electorate.

That the bombing halt in no way signifies any change in the overall objectives of U.S. imperialism in South-East Asia, however, is shown in the simultaneous announcement by America's number one war criminal that he intends to triple the bombing level along the so-called "Ho Chi Minh trail" *in Laos*, and that the U.S. commander-in-chief in south Vietnam has been given authority to bomb north Vietnamese forces and facilities within the "demilitarized" zone "and even just north of it," without having to check with Washington to order such raids. Moreover, the U.S. continues to fly its provocative spy planes over north Vietnamese soil.

Notwithstanding the very limited character of the U.S. backdown, the *Globe and Mail* cynically suggests that anti-war militants should "thank" the Pentagon warlords for their generosity. As if in response, a spokesman for the organizing committee for the upcoming Hemispheric Conference to End the Vietnam War has promised that Johnson's decision means the conference "will be praising the U.S. for taking such a humane initiative." As if you should thank thugs who have invaded your house when they have stopped beating yourself and your family while they keep looting and burning your premises!

The Vietnamese seem to have no such illusions. Spokesmen for both the north Vietnamese government and south Vietnam's National Liberation Front have responded with a call to the people to increase "their determination to fight and to win" in their struggle for withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from south Vietnam.

External Affairs Minister Sharp, who only days before the U.S. shift in policy was defending the bombing, quickly praised LBJ's "courageous" decision, and ominously offered Canadian troops to "keep order" in south Vietnam in the event of a "settlement" there. Prime Minister Trudeau has confirmed reports that the government has reactivated contingency plans originally set afoot a year ago to send a Canadian "peacekeeping" force to Vietnam.

As Washington casts about for some face-saving "solution" to its Vietnam dilemma, short of withdrawal, the danger grows that its most faithful allies like the Trudeau government will be drawn into more active intervention in the war. The anti-war movement must step up its fight against Canadian complicity. Like the Vietnamese, we will not rest until the last soldier is withdrawn and Vietnam is truly independent to settle its own affairs.

4 Pages -and a Pledge

With this issue of the *Workers Vanguard*, we return to our normal four-page format.

During the May-June revolt in France, and subsequently with the movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, we made a big effort to expand our coverage of these important developments in the world socialist movement, through the addition of four-page centerspreads using extensive material from *The Militant*, the weekly newspaper of our U.S. co-thinkers. We will continue to do this as important new developments arise, and to the extent that our strained finances permit. But the fact is, we never budgeted for this expansion. And even this modest effort has exhausted our financial reserves.

Moreover, in recent months we have taken important steps to improve *La Lutte Ouvrière*, the bi-monthly journal of our comrades in the Montreal-based Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. *La Lutte Ouvrière* is now appearing regularly in an attractive 24-page printed format, which permits it as never before to take advantage of the tremendous opportunities opening up in Quebec for the revolutionary socialists. So what may appear as a step back to the readers of our English-language press, is in fact a big gain for our Québécois readers and subscribers. And that's very important.

The simple fact is that the financial resources we manage to accumulate through single-copy sales, subscriptions, and the annual *Vanguard-La Lutte* fund drive are not sufficient at this time to publish an 8-page *Vanguard* as well as the kind of French-language publication we require.

With this in mind, and inspired by the big opportunities opening up for the left in English Canada too, we pledge that a primary objective of our fund drive next year will be the establishment of a regular 8-page *Workers Vanguard*. The enthusiastic response of our readers to the recent 8-page issues shows the demand is there.

VANGUARD

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#163

Tenants Fight Soaring Rents

by P. Kent

The widening discontent over housing is beginning to smoulder, and here and there burst into flame. Tenants in Winnipeg, Vancouver and Toronto are starting to organize into associations in order to fight back against continued rent gouging and other forms of cynical exploitation by landlords and the big trust and mortgage companies that have moved into this highly lucrative field on a massive scale.

And sections of the trade union movement are talking about placing their skills and organized strength at the disposal of the expanding tenants associations.

Land speculators and ruthless construction and building supply profiteers, buttressed by Liberal and Tory government refusal to develop an effective program of publicly-owned or subsidized housing projects, have barred the majority of workers from owning a house.

The average price of a new house in Toronto, as of last Jan. 31, was $34,658 — up some $3,243 over the previous year. The average price of re-sold houses was $27,809 — up $3,128 over the previous year. With the estimated hoist of 50 percent in the last three years, some 85 percent of Toronto families can no longer afford a house — they cannot finance one over $22,500.

The only houses being built are for those in the upper and middle income bracket. Lower income families are being forced to become apartment dwellers. Over 100,000 persons now live in apartments in Vancouver. While unable to accumulate the funds necessary for down payment on a house, workers can by various means manage the far more expensive apartments — they have no alternative.

Landlords, taking advantage of their desperate situation are extracting exhorbitant increases. According to the Toronto Real Estate Board itself, rents have increased by 50 percent in the last three years and by 70 percent over 1963 levels. According to a brief presented by the Vancouver Tenants' Organizing Committee to Transport Minister Hellyer's task force, for every one dollar increase in costs to the landlord between 1967-1968, rents in Vancouver have gone up an average of $6.

This situation is driving tenants to organize. Early this fall tenants of an apartment complex in Winnipeg joined together in the Niakwa Plaza Tenants Association, refusing to renew their leases on an individual basis. They insisted on bargaining collectively with the landlord through their association. They decided not only to renegotiate a rent increase demanded by the landlord, but to get rid of various lease clauses biased in favor of the landlord and often used as a means to break a lease.

Some 22 tenants of the Rosemount Apartments in Vancouver, organized as the Vancouver Tenants Organization, paid their rent on November 1 — but without the increases demanded by the landlord and a $25 deposit to insure against damage. While they failed to win recognition as a bargaining unit, they forced the landlord to agree on

(See page 2)

HIGH RISE APARTMENTS

New Target for the Politics of Confrontation?

Tenants

(Continued from page 1)

an individual basis to a statement that there would be no further increase before December 1969 and that the $25 damage deposit be placed in a fund to accumulate interest for the tenant after six months occupancy — any deduction from the deposit to be subject to third party arbitration.

On November 18 three couples in a 22 story high-rise apartment in downtown Toronto returned from work to find that they had been locked out of their apartments. They had initiated a rent strike on November 1, supported by a score of the 100 tenants of the occupied units, in order to force the landlord to finish the apartments. The following night the majority of the Toronto Board of Control, headed by the mayor, listened to irate tenants protest about rutted, potted, unfinished stairwells, uncovered wiring, malfunctioning and dangerous elevators, flooded town-house basements, etc., etc.

That meeting saw the establishment of the Eastmount Tenants Association. On the invitation of the mayor, the following day the executive presented their prievances before city council and within the week met the landlord to negotiate on behalf of the tenants. The landlord granted a couple of modest concessions and agreed to meet within a week to discuss the major complaints and a schedule for their rectification.

There was enthusiastic response at the founding meeting to a proposal that, should the landlord fail to rectify the complaints within a limited specified period, everyone should withold their rent and pay it into the association which would hire personnel to do the job and turn over any remaining funds to the owners.

A representative of the 155,000 member Canadian Union of Public Employees assured the members of the Eastmount Association of every possible help — as had CUPE's Prairie representative to the members of the Niakwa Plaza Tenants Association. MPP James Renwick also warmly identified the NDP with the tenants struggle.

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Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

Quebec: New Stage In the Student Revolt

The burgeoning student revolt that has swept across North America in recent years reached a qualitative new stage in the Quebec school sit-in movement this fall.

In three main respects, the Quebec occupations represent an advance for the movement.

(1) With 50,000 students in most colleges, universities and many high schools right across Quebec at one time or another participating in the massive sit-ins, the struggle took on a national character, going far beyond the previous high points in which individual campuses like Berkeley or Columbia had been shut down. Moreover, the Quebec students did not just lock out the administrators; in most cases, they set up occupation committees to operate the schools and colleges themselves, conducting their own classes by "autogestion."

(2) The Quebec student struggle was on a higher political level. Not only did it develop almost directly from immediate student issues to a generalized political attack on the entire range of educational and social policies of the capitalist government — a common tendency of mass student struggles everywhere — but the slogans and tactics of the student occupiers were taken directly from the French student revolt of May-June. One of the key concepts advanced by the Quebec students in their public appeals and demonstrations was "worker-student solidarity" — the key slogan of the French students whose occupation of the Sorbonne sparked the massive general strike of nine million workers, and nearly brought de Gaulle's government crashing down.

(3) The students' revolt in Quebec won popular non-student sympathy unlike anything seen in previous student actions in North America — declarations of support from trade unions, the NDP, teachers, parents, etc.

More than one observer has compared the Quebec students revolt with the mass student uprisings in France and Mexico earlier this year. The analogy is not unwarranted.

In some ways the dynamic of the Quebec movement surpassed France and Mexico. The occupation movement sustained itself and spread for over two weeks *without any coordinated direction on a national scale*. And it came with such suddenness and developed with such speed that it completely overwhelmed the radical leadership of the Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec, which until then had justly held the limelight as the most sophisticated and "revolutionary" student leadership in this country.

The militants who led the revolt in the colleges consciously emulated the French students by setting up action comittees to coordinate the struggle. These action committees are now leading the continuing battle against the repression of militants and for a new leadership in the students' union.

This developing leadership as yet lacks the rounded theoretical and practical understanding that characterizes, for example, the French student leadership. But the leading activists now aim to combine the strongest features of previous mass struggles — France's *revolutionary* action committees and Mexico's *national* strike council — in a new as-yet embryonic form of organization suited to continuing and deepening the struggle.

Thus Quebec can justly be counted among the most profound actions in the current wave of international student radicalization.

In France, the workers' response to the students' revolutionary example reaffirmed the continuing potential for a socialist revolution in an advanced capitalist country. In Mexico, the demonstrations in solidarity with the students' demands, which mobilized up to 700,000 people, presaged a new upsurge of the urban struggle in Latin America and, in turn, a new stage in the revolution south of the Rio Grande.

And in Quebec — where the national oppression of the French Canadian nation is the key factor behind the crisis in the schools — the massive student revolt marked a big step forward in the development of youthful revolutionary cadres armed with a new appreciation of the socialist direction and leadership needed for the ultimate triumph of their struggle.

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Set by Union Labor.

Changes in the NDP

by the Editors

Something important is happening in the New Democratic Party. Convention resolutions that favor public ownership of major industry and resources; a new concept of "confrontation politics" that involves active participation by NDP members and leaders in picket lines, anti-war demonstrations, and tenants' protest movements; an unprecedented tolerance of leftward expressions in the youth movement, and the socialist caucuses; the opening up of the party press, particularly in Ontario, to dissent and criticism of the existing program — all these signs confirm that the hardening machine-like trend in the party which has been remarked for some years now, has been halted and is even in some respects being reversed.

Since the NDP's founding seven years ago, repeated electoral tests have demonstrated how firmly rooted the party is among the broad layers of politically conscious workers in this country. Recent developments, however, indicate a new vitality in the ranks.

Why the shift to the left? Undoubtedly a prime factor is the wave of radicalization on the international arena. Imperialism's debacle in Vietnam, the revolutionary developments in France and Mexico, socialist democratization in Czechoslovakia, the black struggle in the United States, and most recently the capitalist monetary crisis are contributing to a new awareness of the basic instability of the capitalist system. Moreover, there is a growing understanding that 25 years of post-war "prosperity" have advanced the lot of the working people very little, and certainly not nearly as much as the rising expectations of the "affluent society" have led us to demand.

In their attempts to do something, for example about the autocratic and obsolete educational system, or the war in Vietnam, many people are coming to realize that reason and the justice of a cause do not suffice to make those in power accept the necessary changes. The basis for confrontation politics is precisely the growing feeling in NDP ranks that if "democratic institutions," the "normal" avenues of expression and communication such as parliament are not adequate, then so much the worse for those institutions. New, more relevant means of action must be sought and applied.

These currents were bound to be reflected in the NDP, the mass party of Canadian labor. Reflected, but not to this point accepted.

The traditional liberal reformist program, never markedly successful even on the electoral plane, is completely incapable of expressing the new radical mood which everyone admits is there. "Trudeaumania" revealed anew how vulnerable the party is to improvised gimmicks on the part of the Establishment parties.

The recent provincial leadership contests have confirmed that the present leaders — incumbents and challengers alike — have nothing to offer in place of that discredited make-capitalism-work program, to which they are all wholly committed. If they have moved to accommodate to the new mood, it is only with reluctance and without conviction.

Only a *socialist* leadership with a revolutionary program of *class struggle* confrontation with the entrenched rulers of this country can make the party truly relevant to the working people. To build that alternative leadership — this is the challenge facing socialists in the NDP. As recent developments show, the opportunity is there; it's ours to seize.

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End the Repression of Student Militants!

After the revolt comes the repression. This pattern, a feature of student struggles elsewhere, is now being repeated in Quebec following the massive sit-ins by close to 50,000 university, college and high school students in October.

The new classroom struggle is being waged by the administrations with all the ferocity of a class struggle. In the CEGEPs (junior colleges), over 20 militant student leaders have been recently expelled, or arbitrarily failed — and barred from entering other CEPEGs. Students who miss more than 10 percent of the lectures are threatened with expulsion. Recreation privileges have been cut.

At a typical college, Maisonneuve in working class Montreal, all student assemblies during school hours and on school property have been banned; other meetings must be authorized by the administration on at least three days' notice from students' council; the campus radio and newspaper have been suspended until students agree to abide by the administration's "code of ethics"; distribution of leaflets, etc., is forbidden; all "strangers" are barred from college property; and the students association has been kicked out of its offices — even the locks on the doors have been changed. (The administration tried without success to create a new council.) Appropriately, the authorities at CEGEP Maisonneuve call this "normalization" (that's what the Kremlin calls its terms in Czechoslovakia), and claim the repression is designed to restore a "climate of dialogue" with the students.

At CEGEP Lionel Groulx in Ste-Thérèse, authorities closed the college indefinitely when the students demanded the right to collect their own students' union dues. As at other colleges which have locked out the students following renewed occupations and protests, Lionel Groulx has demanded that all students wishing to come back must re-enroll, and sign a pledge to obey the authorities' "conditions."

The repression in Quebec schools originates from the highest authorities. Education Minister Jean-Guy Cardinal launched his election campaign in Bagot riding with the fantastic charge that the October revolt was the work of "200 or 300 agitators." Cardinal took full responsibility for the new repression: "All things considered, I acted as any father would have acted in similar circumstances."

Cardinal followed up this revealing comment with another: "But let's hear no talk of authoritarianism! The crisis here wasn't like those which shook France, Germany and Mexico!"

Maybe not — but as the repression in the colleges shows, the French Canadian Establishment was pretty shook up nonetheless by the students' revolt.

A host of official and officious spokesmen are attempting to stir up a similar witch-hunt climate against student activists in English Canada. An Ontario magistrate calls student unrest "the most serious form of pollution in Canada." Former Tory premier of Ontario George Drew calls it "organized hooliganism." And the recent meeting of university presidents in Ottawa was the occasion for a veritable orgy of attacks on student "extremists."

In both English and French Canada, the authorities have shown their sincere desire to "dialogue" by sending cops onto the campuses to arrest student militants.

What is it that inspires such fear and repression from the people who run this country?

The students are demanding the most basic democratic rights, which even capitalist society should have long ago secured them: universal accessibility to education at all levels; jobs when they graduate; and, in Quebec, an expansion of French-language educational facilities to overcome the glaring national inequality. To attract even serious attention to these demands, they have been forced to take over the schools and colleges, to assert their right to determine their own futures. But the only reply they get is repression and paternal reproaches.

Is the system really so inflexible as these reactions indicate? A lot of students are pondering that question — and drawing appropriate conclusions. A growing number are enlisting in the revolutionary socialist movement. That's what the Establishment really fears.

An incident in Quebec last month suggests another reason for their apprehension. In Jonquière, 80 cops invaded the local CEGEP and expelled its students who were sitting-in in solidarity with students who had been expelled in nearby CEGEP Chicoutimi. The Jonquière students went down the street to the union hall, where the local Confederation of National Trade Unions promptly put its headquarters at their disposal and proceeded to help the students organize their defense.

"Student-*Worker* solidarity." That can be an unbeatable combination.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

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VANCOUVER. League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville St., Vancouver 2, B.C. 688-5924. Young Socialists, 511 Carrall St., 682-9332.

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Deutscher on the Jewish Question

THE NON-JEWISH JEW AND OTHER ESSAYS by Isaac Deutscher. Oxford University Press. 164 pp. $5.85.

With this book we now have an up-to-date socialist, a Marxist, viewpoint on the Jewish question.

Until its appearance, *The Jewish Question* by the Belgian Trotskyist A. Leon was the most important writing on the problem. Leon's is a work of great historical scholarship and penetration, a brilliant and incisive outline of the origin and evolution of the problem from antiquity. Written in 1940, almost a decade before the founding of the Israeli state, it could only deal with Zionism, as a solution, from a theoretical viewpoint. Events since Leon's death in Auschwitz at the age of 24 years have shown not only his genius but the power of Marxism as a theoretical tool.

The Deutscher book is in the form of a series of nine commentaries that approach the question from various angles. It takes on this form since it was not conceived as a unit by the author of the brilliant trilogy on the life of Leon Trotsky (*The Prophet Armed, The Prophet Unarmed* and *The Prophet Outcast*, $2.85 each), but is rather a series of essays written over a number of years. The first appeared in 1954, four of them followed the completion of the Trotsky biography in 1963, and the last was written on the very eve of the author's untimely death in August 1967.

The editor, Deutscher's widow Tamara, who was his close collaborator for years, has also included a short biographical sketch of the author and a longer essay in the form of an introduction. Entitled The Education of a Jewish Child, it is a valuable sketch of Jewish life in Eastern Europe through the story of the Deutscher family. It reveals the intimate knowledge that Isaac had of traditional Jewish life.

At the age of 13, Deutscher was "consecrated" as a rabbi — at the age of 16 his poems, in which he fused Polish romanticism with Jewish lyrical folklore, were being published in Polish literary journals. It was not until he was 18 that he seriously commenced to study philosophy, economics and Marxism. This deep acquaintance with Jewish life and culture, which he retained until his death at 60 years of age, is vividly revealed in an essay on the painter Marc Chagall included in this book.

The most extensive essay is one on the Israeli-Arab War which appeared in *New Left Review* in June 1967. Here Deutscher shows how Zionism, through the Israeli state, instead of providing a refuge for the Jewish people from the poison of anti-Semitism, is preparing a bloody trap. He urges that Israel cease being a tool of Western imperialism but seek an alliance with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab masses to lay the foundations of a truly progressive, a socialist Middle East.

An equally interesting and a very important essay is the one entitled The Russian Revolution and the Jewish Problem. Here he establishes the Leninist position on the national question, including the Jewish question, as against its Stalinist perversion, besides dealing with the problem of the Jews in the USSR today.

Despite the slimness of this volume, it is well worth the price.

by P. Kent

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POUNDMAKER

POUNDMAKER by Norma Sluman, Ryerson Press, 301 pp. $5.95. THE NEW INDIANS by Stan Steiner, Harper and Row, 349 pp. $9.95.

Poundmaker is an attempt at a biography of the great Cree chief who struggled to unite the Indian nations of the Canadian West to resist the destruction of their long established tribal society by the invading white capitalist society. The story ends with Poundmaker's death at the side of Crowfoot, among the Blackfoot people, in 1886, after his release from Stoney Mountain where he had been jailed for his participation in the Northwest Rebellion headed by Louis Riel.

The New Indians, as its subtitle says, is "the first full scale report of the gathering 'Red Power' movement . . . a revolt against the white man's culture and its debasement of the tribal way." It deals with the various movements that reflect the rising national consciousness of Indians in the territory of the United States of America, today.

But the gap between these two valuable books is far wider than time and place.

In her foreward Norma Sluman notes that "there is no way that this story of Poundmaker (Opetecca-hanawaywin — his Indian name) could have been written, however, as I felt it must be, from the Indian point of view." Thus she expresses her regrets that the bulk of her sources were white, not Indian. But the book would have been a far different book and would have presented a more correct historical view than it does if Sluman herself had some insight into the fundamental nature of the struggle which the persons who appear in the pages of her book were actually caught up in and only to varying degrees of consciousness understood.

The tragedies, the disasters that beset the Crees and the other Indian nations that she writes of with considerable poignancy, are explained as being the result of incompetent, insensitive representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company, government agents, Ottawa politicians, and the misuse of their powers.

In reality the clash between Indian and white resulted from the conflict, the irreconcilable conflict between two systems of production and two diametrically opposed cultures. The white man came first as robber, then exploiter, and stayed on as colonizer. For white society, capitalist society, to develop, Indian society, a tribal, a communal society, had to be overthrown.

The settlers who flooded into the West could only develop their holdings, and become the vehicle for the expansion of capitalist society which in turn ruthlessly exploited them as it does to this day, by pushing the Indian tribes into the back areas and undermining the basis of their culture. Since those days of course there has developed a working class which is independently organized in opposition to the capitalist class and which has common interests with the descendants of the Poundmakers and the Crowfoots.

Poundmaker has been restored in this work to something approximating his true stature, a truly great man, an orator, a warrior, and leader of his peoples.

Nonetheless, due to this fundamental shortcoming Sluman presents him as a "good Indian," as one who should be acceptable to those who continue to shape the myths of Canadian history. She denigrates both the Métis and Louis Riel who attempted to unite his forces with Poundmaker's in a common revolutionary struggle. Did Poundmaker establish any relations with Riel as the Crown alleged, and for which they sentenced him to jail? Or, if he did not, was it because he faltered before the challenge, or did he think that Riel's struggle was already foredoomed to failure? This book goes to some length to establish Poundmaker's "innocence" of the white charge.

Through interesting narratives, documents, charts, etc., that make up Stan Steiner's book, we hear the voice of the New Indian — Finis Smith, the leader of the Five County Cherokee Movement, known as "the redskinned Malcolm X," Vine Deloria Jr., Standing Rock Sioux, advocate of Red Power, and others.

Since the New Indians in the U.S. had not themselves written of their movement and their aims, Steiner serves as the instrument through which they speak. Canada's Indians who are now speaking out and organizing against their conditions will find much of value in this book — and we would hope be inspired to write one of their own. Whites who know that they are not free while others are oppressed will want to read this book so as to better understand and identify with the Indian struggle.

— by Ross Dowson

young socialist forum

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